

CHILD STUDY

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL of PARENT EDUCATION

FALL, 1950

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HEADLINES

TO OUR READERS:

This column is the chief means at my disposal of communicating with you about the Association's activities and plans.

This issue of the magazine will reach you shortly before our Annual Program is distributed. One important item that we feel will interest our members is a series of evening meetings beginning this fall, featuring several new films with discussion conducted by prominent leaders. Admission to these meetings will be offered as one of the privileges of membership. Husbands or wives may accompany Association members to the entire series. Members may also invite one guest to any one lecture in the series.

This new plan has two purposes: *First*, it represents one of the Association's efforts to offer to members as rich and varied a program as possible. We hope that greater numbers of fathers as well as mothers will attend and we are making it possible to do this without additional expense. *Second*, members will have an opportunity to invite a guest who, it is hoped, will become a new friend and member of the Association. We believe that it is more effective to demonstrate than merely to tell about our aims and program.

To most of us, change is regarded with interest or curiosity mixed with varying degrees of uncertainty. We generally like some prior notice before a change is made. So this seems to be the moment to tell our readers that after considerable discussion and friendly debate, the editors of the magazine have decided to introduce some changes in the format and layout of CHILD STUDY. The purpose is quite simple: to enhance the attractiveness of the cover and to increase the magazine's readability by a more eye-appealing layout. We invite suggestions from our readers. Last you be concerned about the magazine's content, I can reassure you that the high standards inherent in planning the issues and in the selection of authors and articles will remain unchanged.

MILDRED B. BECK, *Director*



The Challenge of Crisis

Parents are, on the whole, quite unprepared for the irritations and minor difficulties of everyday life, yet they are among the realities which people gradually learn to cope with in family living. As a rule we come to accept these as a necessary accompaniment to the satisfying experience of bringing up children.

As our understanding deepens, however, we begin to see that these minor difficulties are often the outward evidence of important inner adjustments, and serve, in a sense, as the growing-pains that accompany personality growth. They may also serve to focus attention on the crises in the lives of our children — crises that seem to be essential and inevitable at various stages of growth.

The crisis of adolescence is one which we recognize most easily. Through fiction and drama, radio and television, and even the comic strip, we have been presented with an almost stylized concept of adolescent behavior, the contradictions and unevenness, the ecstasies and self-doubting, the alternating selfishness and altruism. Without always understanding the meaning of this behavior, we do, nevertheless, see the way in which it expresses the struggle toward individuality, independence, and self-esteem. As the searchlight of increased knowledge is turned on other periods of development, these too show characteristic behavior that can be understood in terms of the "critical" adjustment necessary for that age level, behavior not always to be dismissed as typical of a phase that will pass. The negativism of a two-year-old, for example, the night fears of a four-year-old, or a five-year-old girl's resentment toward her mother takes on new meaning when seen in the light of these children's — and all children's — growth step by step in accepting themselves and their place in the family group.

These critical periods, then, need not send parents into a state of alarm, nor need they cause parents to feel personally to blame. They are, rather, a challenge, pointing out new phases of children's needs and pushing parents to consider their children in new ways. Each crisis passed can bring increased poise and peace and wider horizons for the children. And each critical phase of children's lives, honestly faced and thoughtfully considered, can give parents, also, increased wisdom and confidence. For along with their children, parents too can grow.

THE EDITORS

Crises in Childhood

JULES V. COLEMAN, M.D.

Until very recently, when he left to enter private practice of psychiatry in New Haven, Connecticut, JULES V. COLEMAN was professor of psychiatry and head of the mental hygiene division at the University of Colorado Medical Center. He is psychiatric consultant to several hospitals and is a fellow and a member of the board of directors of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, president of the American Association of Psychiatric Clinics for Children, chairman of the Committee on Psychiatric Social Work of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry.

IN the words of Webster, a crisis is "the decisive moment, the turning point, a crucial time." In this general sense, the child in his development moves from one crisis to another, with at first relatively rare intervals of stability briefly succeeding stormy periods of new learning and new adaptation. It is useful, however, to give more concrete meaning to the idea of crisis in childhood. We shall omit here the sense of disturbance which arises from the slow process of physiological growth, and the experiences of motor and intellectual learning. We shall confine ourselves to the sudden, the unusual, the unexpected, the unanticipated.

From this point of view, in the life of the newborn and the very young child crisis is a constantly returning visitor. Even repeated experience still has the quality of stark newness. The nursing child with twinges of hunger, for instance, acts as if he had never been fed before and expects never to be fed again. This is a period of crisis based on the lack of capacity to integrate experience; it is internally determined, awaiting the comforts of memory and the consolations of correction through reality. In the first year of life, the outstanding personal crisis concerns the fear of being abandoned. This is reflected in such reactions as anxiety at being left alone at night, and fear of strangers. In the newborn, however, any unexpected and sudden change, such as loud noises or abrupt change in position, elicits a startled reaction, a reaction of crisis.

The child's susceptibility to crisis is markedly reduced by the learning experiences of the second and third years — learning bladder and bowel control, learning to walk and to talk, testing out his own in-

dependence through negativistic behavior and the ritual of the "no." There are a number of children for whom the acceptance of bladder and bowel discipline is a difficult experience, even when no outside pressures are imposed. These are the children who respond to coercive training with the wild and anxious defiance that may result in character rigidities and stubbornness. Likewise the normal reaction of negativism in this period, if unwisely limited and constricted, may harden into exaggerated aggressiveness. Early in this period, and carrying over from the previous one, the experience of weaning, even if managed with gentleness, is always of critical importance to the child; this is especially true if it comes with heavy-handed impact.

The sense of security which follows the great achievements of learning in the second and third years begins to be rudely disturbed in the ensuing period, which one might call the time of primary social differentiation. The suddenly enlarging awareness of relationships within the family charges this period with an atmosphere of high emotional tension. The child becomes aware of the parents *as a couple* and of the exclusiveness of their intimate relations. The fact of anatomical sex differences becomes increasingly meaningful, and is associated with much conjecture and anxiety. This is an age of intense speculation about the processes of conception, gestation, and childbirth, with the elaboration of much and usually fanciful theory. The genitals are discovered to have a special and separate quality of sensation, and the discovery is, in turn, related to the nature of the parents' relation to each other. At this time, a loving and possessive interest in the parent of the opposite sex is equalled only by the intensity of the child's resentment of the parent of the same sex.

In this period, covering roughly the fourth, fifth, and sixth years of life, the child is beginning to achieve a degree of psychological organization that protects him from being overwhelmed by new and troubling awarenesses and responses. Because their impact is very great, a child at this time is likely to be in a state of deep emotional absorption and tur-

moil. Fortunately, as the result of typical psychological changes, the child now enters a period of several years of relative emotional quiescence, or latency, without which it would indeed be difficult for him to master the new intellectual and social demands of school and its larger society. Just as the stage before served to prepare the child for an understanding of intimate personal relationships, this period of latency, extending from about the sixth year to adolescence, may be described as the phase of preliminary social exploration. The child is reaching out for a place in the larger group; he is attempting to understand and assimilate the meaning of experience outside the family. There are few crises inherent to this age, and it is interesting that it has received relatively little consideration in the literature. The hostilities toward the parents which attend the child's turning to more neutral group associations for the most part pass quietly, unobserved by the adult. Yet, the following popular jingle reveals a transient outcropping of obsessional symptoms by means of which the hostilities are deflected through a ceremony of avoidance.

If you step on a crack, you break your mother's back;
If you step on a line, you break your mother's spine.

Adolescence, the final period of childhood, and one that is often unduly prolonged, might be called a time of emancipatory testing. The problems of the earlier period of primary social differentiation, when the child became aware of relationships within the family, are reactivated and given new meaning by the maturing of the sexual glands. After the repressions of latency, the child is completely unprepared for the physiologically activated sexual cravings which, though at first only dimly perceived, may bring a sense of profound disturbance. The adolescent faces in two directions at once—backward toward his childhood and forward to his emancipation as an adult—yet in reality neither position is his. It is an age of emotional contradictions and contrasts, of powerful feeling and fervent denial of feeling. It is a period of high drama with often crude, sometimes noble, and occasionally tragic dramatization. Yet the essential poetry of adolescence is seldom appreciated by harassed parents and only rarely realized by the child himself.

Development is learning. In each phase of development there are new problems presented to the child in every sphere of his total experience—biological, emotional, social, and physical. The solution of each problem represents a step toward the greater

integration and adaptiveness of the personality. The purposes of the developmental process are (1) to enable the child to carry on continuous but graduated adaptations that will prepare him to meet an expanding complexity of demands and (2) to develop a system of responses with a stabilizing core of constancy as well as the capacity for flexible adjustment. In each phase, the child encounters typical problems to which he responds at first in a relatively random manner, and later with more organized behavior. The character structure, which embodies the habitual mode of response of the person, is thus a slowly emergent system based upon a history of responses to problems. Each phase, then, has its own problems, produces its own anxieties, and makes its own contribution to the gradual integration of the developing character structure. "Crisis" thus appears only when demands on the child, whether from within or without, exceed his capacity to handle them at a particular moment of his life. Developmental crises are especially severe in the first year of life, in the immediate preschool, and at adolescence. However, the child becomes gradually less vulnerable to crisis as he gets older, since development itself is a process of increasing personality organization, integration, and mastery.

Other Kinds of Crises

On the other hand, no child's life is free from calamity, from catastrophic and fateful occurrences often far removed from the ordinary problems of development. In the face of such events as the death of a parent, the breaking up of a home, chronic or handicapping illness, and crippling accidents, the threat of neurotic response becomes very real, as it does when the child has to meet unreasonable demands from parents who fail to consider his physiologic or psychologic stages of maturity. The capacity of the child to deal with calamity depends on his age, his security with his parents, his previous experience of integrating critical demands, the response of the parents, and the nature and severity of the event itself. We know that children with all kinds of handicaps, orthopedic, perceptual, or functional—children with crippling poor vision, deafness, active heart disease, and so on—may still be helped to become emotionally stable people. But they must be actively and skillfully helped; such handicaps are a real threat and the child who has them needs special understanding and acceptance as well as specialized aids to learning in everyday living at home and in school.

Another type of crisis belongs in a class by itself since it cannot be regarded as a developmental disorder nor as a calamity, although it may seem so to the child. This is the problem of sibling rivalry. Sibling rivalry takes its meaning from the child's relationship to his parents, and more particularly to the mother. The child's hatred for a brother or sister is his lament for what seems to him the loss of the favored position — his dethronement and his comparative deprivation. He feels he is not getting enough of anything — of love, of esteem, of food, of parental companionship — because it is now going to his brother or sister. The birth of a second child in the family is always a crisis for the older one, and there is a universal if not always obvious response of envy and hatred. Unlike most childhood calamities, however, this is one for which the parents are at least prepared; they may, therefore, do much to cushion it for the child.

A word about anxiety, the child's most constant companion — as it is also perhaps the adult's. Anxiety is the biologically patterned response to danger, both from within and from without. It is characteristically associated with feelings of helplessness, vulnerability, and isolation. In the presence of sudden threats one feels trapped and overwhelmed. The threat may come from within, as with feelings of fear lest one's hatred for a stronger person may bring a damaging retaliation, or from without, as with the real dangers of being injured and mutilated, through accidents, operations, or the like. Anxiety manifests itself in children directly in crying and outward signs of apprehension, and in the same variety of functional disturbance as in the adult — rapid pulse and heartbeat, sweating, motor restlessness, irritability, and so on. Overactivity and aggressiveness are frequently observed in children reacting to chronic anxiety; anxiety is indeed the impelling force that produces the whole range of symptoms of emotional disturbance in children as in adults. If crisis is thought of as a turning point, then it may be regarded as the agent that stirs up anxiety. If this anxiety cannot be managed by the child, it leads to those defensive reactions of the personality with their corresponding protective distortions of reality which we call symptoms or behavior disorders.

We have thus far considered crises in relation to the developmental process, to calamities, and to sibling rivalry. Another form of crisis is to be found in the major and minor disturbances that occur within the family group and represent the common stress-and-strain situations in which all families may find them-

selves at one time or another. These may include such happenings as a move from one town to another, or from one section of a city to another, illness of one of the parents or of a brother or sister, absence from the home of father or mother, death of grandparents or of other close relatives or friends, tensions between the parents, divorce, and so on. A child's experience with the death, illness, or anxieties of those who are close to him is always of critical importance, and the effect it produces is dependent upon the child's age, his personality integration, and his relationship with the particular persons.

Finally, there is an order of crisis that often seems relatively insignificant to the adult and yet may be far-reaching in its effect upon the child. I refer to apparently minor events, like the new but frightening experience of the first haircut, the death of a pet, the disappointment when some treat or gift that has been promised and anticipated fails to come off, the first day in school, shifts to new schools, as from grade school to junior high school, and so on. For the secure child such experiences are worked through and resolved with the help of the strength derived from the protecting and comforting parent. For the insecure and anxious child they are reminders of confusion and uncertainty, further proof of the unreliability and potential harmfulness of the world he lives in.

How Can Parents Help?

Having discussed a number of different kinds of crises, we may well ask how parents can help their children meet the frustrating, hurtful, alarming, and disorganizing experiences that fall to every child's lot. Different crises call for different kinds of help. For most parents, the response to the child's need is based upon a knowledge, usually intuitive and cumulative rather than articulated, of the child's uniqueness as a person and his own ways of gaining comfort and reassurance.

Many of the problems that harass parents are magnified because of a lack of understanding of the developmental process; that is, they do not know what to expect and when. The young mother with her first baby is in a particularly difficult position. Often she has no one to turn to for information and advice about the baby's crying, when to feed, how to feed, what sleep patterns to expect, the nature and frequency of stools, and so on. Although the reading of modern books for parents on the care of children, or visits to pediatricians or well-baby clinics, may be helpful, what is often lacking is the on-tap authority

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Helping Children to Accept Death

MARGARET S. MAHLER, M.D.

MARGARET S. MAHLER, a former member of the Vienna and International Psychoanalytic Societies, was head of a psychoanalytic child guidance clinic in Vienna and a close associate of the late Professor August Aichhorn. She is an associate in psychiatry at College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, and a consultant to the New York Psychiatric Institute. She is an instructor at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute and guest instructor at the Philadelphia Psychoanalytic Institute. Dr. Mahler is the author of several chapters in books dealing with psychoanalytic subjects and of numerous scientific articles. This article is based in part on a pamphlet, "Children Must Be Told, Too," that she wrote in collaboration with Ruth Henning.

LITTLE Peggy's grandmother was very ill. In fact she had an incurable cancer. Peggy and her grandmother were very close friends and therefore all the family were cautious in their attempts to keep the approaching and inevitable outcome from the child. Right after Easter, when Peggy's Easter bunny had died, the child, anxiously watching her grandmother's afternoon nap, walked up to her to ask, "Grannie, are you asleep or are you maybe dead like my bunny?"

Little Michael is a precocious three-year-old, the only son of hard-working parents who live in a tenement. His grandmother is very old but active. One day there was a big commotion in the tenement house. The grandmother had been hit by a truck and the grandfather had to go to the morgue to identify the body. That night Michael asked, "Where is Grannie and why doesn't she come home?" He was told that Grannie had gone on a trip. Michael answered, "Maybe she did go on a trip or maybe she was hit by a car and she's dead," indicating not only his full awareness of the fact of his grandmother's sudden death but also his struggle between accepting or rejecting the insincere and shortsighted explanation he had been given.

Tony's mother had been ill for years. She was suffering from a fatal disease. There was a question of sparing the mother awareness of the nature of her illness versus giving her very alert little son some measure of insight into the reality. Tony had been brought up by permissive principles of education, and he was apt to blurt out "the truth" about anything he knew, whether desirable or not. Therefore the family concealed this truth from Tony, in order

to shield his mother. Tony could not understand and therefore could not accept his mother's inactivity and withdrawal from sharing in his boisterous play. He took his mother's frequent hospitalization as a personal rejection. He felt strange and different from the other children whose mothers were available, and, without knowing it, he grew angrier and angrier with his own mother. He loved her very dearly, yet, in fits of temper, he hit her; and a few days before her death in the hospital, he desperately tried to persuade her to come home, or else, he said, he would have to get himself another mother. Many grown-ups, psychologically trained, were impatient and resentful of Tony's reaction — yet surely anyone who knows children could understand the agony Tony was suffering. How could this painful situation have been handled to spare him some of this? Children must be told, too. Birth — life's beginning — is all around us; and so is death — the cessation, the end of life. But the abstract idea of both birth and death is incomprehensible to the child, particularly to the small child.

Judy, aged four, said, "I will keep this little purse forever. I'll use it when I am a big girl and go to school and when I am a lady and put powder on my face, and when I am dead I'll take it in the box with me." Judy took the fact of death into account in her own way — characteristic of a normal four-year-old — but her concept of death did not involve the cessation of her activities and interest in her possessions. She was merely expressing her great attachment to the little purse and her unwillingness to be separated from it, even "in the box."

Peggy had experienced, in the death of her bunny, the cessation of the animal's movements and activity. When Grandmother slumbered, therefore, her quiescence was frightening to the child. The equation of death with the cessation of the life processes — as indicated by the absence of active movement — is a concept that is gradually acquired and its finality is hard for both child and adult to grasp.

Paul, when two and a half, was taken to a pond where ducks were swimming. Many weeks later Paul's mother was fixing his bath in a tub in the kitchen while his Grannie was preparing a duck for roasting. Both women left the kitchen for a short while. When his grandmother returned to put the

duck into the roaster, she found to her dismay that the bird was in Paul's tub, while he was urging it to "swim, swim." To Paul a duck was a bird that swam, and he could not understand why this object, called by the same name, should be immobile.

Olga was not permitted to have any pet except a goldfish — a very dull pet indeed. No wonder she soon grew tired of it and neglected it. One day the goldfish was dead. Olga could not accept this irrevocable fact. She tried everything she could to prevent the little fish from turning upside down, to make it "want" to swim again. She felt guilty because she remembered how often she had forgotten to feed the fish or to renew the water in the tank. If it would only try to live once more, how much better she would care for it! Her continuous efforts to revive it, to "make it want to swim again," illustrate a frequent reaction of small children toward the experience of death. Their own previous angers or aggressive wishes toward the one who has died make them interpret the actual death as proof of the omnipotent power of their wishes. Therefore they likewise tend to believe that their wishes can also undo the death, can effect a resurrection. We have seen in the analysis of children how persistent may be such a belief in the magic of wishes and the conviction that by wishing hard enough they can bring back to life someone they have lost.

Tony's guilt feeling, of course, was much more serious than Olga's. His mourning at his mother's death produced neurotic symptoms whose origin in and connection with his mother's death were unknown either to himself or to his family. Through psychoanalytic treatment Tony was finally able to recognize the connections, and this cured his symptoms and his neurosis which had threatened to impair his happy adjustment to the growing-up process.

How Can We "Protect" Children in this Crisis?

In their fear of facing their children's anxiety (every normal child has anxiety) adults try to "protect" children from the facts of life — and perhaps even more so, from the inevitable and irreversible finality of death. The child's anxiety is lessened, however, if he knows what is happening around him — and even more so, if he knows that his parents are not secretive but share knowledge as well as other things with him.

In the case of sudden or accidental death, parents cannot, of course, prepare the child; they can only

be ready to help him accept and adjust by stages to its reality. But most deaths are not wholly unforeseen and these are the situations in which it is important to prepare the child since preparation always makes adjustment easier than the effects of surprise, which overwhelm the child's power of coping with reality.

The child's age and the circumstances of the event will determine how to proceed in telling him. But whether or not an actual death is imminent, one should not avoid answering the child's questions or explaining his observations in connection with death. Each child has different associations with death, and to help him you need to know the individual child. What are his ideas? His fantasies? His fears? From time to time he will reveal these in his questions, in his play. Then you can take him a step further in explanation. You need not be troubled if your first telling was brief. If you tell him too much, there is danger that he will accept your ideas too easily without doing any thinking for himself. This may act emotionally as undigested food does physically. Wait. The child will come back with the same questions or with others that you will recognize as a further working through of this problem in his own mind.

A child may be disturbed by a death in the family, and his behavior may be puzzling and distressing. Temporarily everything is changed. Others' needs are greater than his, and he receives less attention than usual. The suddenness of the loss may take him unawares, and loss is bearable to a child only in piecemeal fashion. A child is hurt and jealous if he is not included. On the one hand, he would like to participate — yes, even be in the limelight of mourning — for that is his childish way; on the other, he cannot understand all the emotional connotations of adult mourning.

Maggie had just started school when her grandfather died in a distant city. She was left alone when her parents went to the funeral. She was told not to go to school — an injunction about which she felt very uneasy. She was unable to make any connection between the death and staying home from school. Maggie was an overconscientious child and when her teacher asked her why she had missed school she replied that her grandfather had died. When the teacher asked, "Did you go to the funeral, Maggie?" the child impulsively said, "Yes, of course I did," with a quality of emphasis which betrayed that she was lying. Her teacher could not understand this reaction, yet it seems to me to be comprehensible: Maggie felt lonesome and excluded. She was very un-

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Troubles Don't Come Singly

The following, from a case of the Family Counseling Service of the Child Study Association, shows the problem of a mother and child called on to meet a double crisis. For purposes of anonymity as well as space, many complexities are omitted; but the outlines as presented here are essentially true.

FOUR-YEAR-OLD Peter adored his father and loved especially to visit him in his nearby machine shop where he could watch him at work. Often his father found time to make ingenious playthings for Peter out of scraps of metal, and at home his father could mend or make toys better than anyone else's father. Peter had a loving mother, too; he had pet mice and whenever he wanted he could bring his friends to the house to see them. Yet with all these good things, Peter was a frightened, uneasy child.

For Peter had noticed that his father and mother didn't like each other. Often they spoke together very angrily; whole days might go by when they didn't speak at all; they slept in separate rooms instead of together as they used to. Sometimes Peter's mother talked for hours on the telephone to a woman friend. The door was closed and he couldn't hear what she said. But he could tell by her voice that she was unhappy. Lots of things made him suspect that his father wanted to go away from them. He couldn't bear the thought of his father's leaving, of no more shop, no one to mend his toys. If Daddy who loved him could go away and leave him, maybe Mother could do the same. Then what would become of him?

And there was another nagging little trouble, too. Once Peter had thought it might be nice to have a new baby in the family like one of his friends and he had asked his mother to make one grow in her body. At nursery school, Peter had heard that this was how babies came. But he could tell at once from his mother's face that this suggestion hurt her. She had told him it would be impossible and had said something about "an operation." Last year, he remembered, she had gone away to have this operation and the doctor had made a cut in her. After she came home she was tired and lay in her bed more than usual and Peter wondered what the doctor had done to her. She had said to her friend, "Well, that's really the end of *that* hope. But at least I have Peter."

He had asked his mother later on, "Did I grow in your body?" And she had answered, "Why, of

course, Peter — at least not quite — you see, Peter . . ." And because she seemed so troubled he didn't want to hear what she had to say, so he had interrupted and begged her to come look at the mice right away. But what did it mean — "*at least I have Peter*"?

All these fears and confusions were worse at night. He was afraid when he waked up alone in the dark. Over and over again he would get up and go to his mother and insist on getting into her bed. Her body felt warm and comforting; yet feelings that he did not understand would suddenly overwhelm him. He would push her away when she tried to take his hand. She was a *bad* Mommie because she could not keep his father from going away and might even leave Peter herself. He hated her. But he was bad for hating her and for lots of other thoughts he had. Lions and tigers would come and eat him up for being so bad. This could happen when he had to stay all alone in the dark, so of course he was afraid then.

Every night now Peter wet himself like a much younger child. The warm fluid felt good for a moment, but later he was sorry and ashamed. Yet how could he be expected to do any better? For some time he had felt vaguely that he wasn't a regular kind of child anyway, so he couldn't be good and control himself. (What did it mean — "*at least Peter*"?)

Every day he quarreled with his mother and was as bad as he knew how to be. He could make her very upset and for a minute he would feel strong and powerful. With all that power he could make her stay; he could make it true that he had grown in her body like other children. But the feeling didn't last; fear kept coming back.

Peter's mother came to the Counseling Service for help in how to tell her child these two things: there was to be a divorce; Peter was an adopted child. She had always intended to let him know about it, but it was much more difficult than she had expected. At first she sat and wept and could hardly talk, but finally she was able to tell her troubles. First, after many years of marriage, there had been the great disappointment for both her and her husband, that there would be no child. After that, or along with it — she could not say how long it had taken — came the realization that her husband was turning away from her. When they adopted Peter at two weeks of

age, the child brought with him a glimmer of joy and hope and of momentary reunion for his new parents. But although Peter was a healthy, delightful baby, the reunion was short-lived. For a year now, Peter's mother had known that her husband had fallen in love with a very young woman, and planned to marry her. They would have children of their own, he had declared in anger.

This last was the bitterest pill of all, but Peter's mother swallowed it as she had swallowed other sorrows in her life. After the first outpouring to the counselor, she dried her eyes for good and wept no more.

"At least I have Peter," she said. "When I first realized I couldn't hold my husband I used to think I should give the boy to another family—for his sake, of course. But that's changed now and I know he's truly mine."

But she still found it almost insurmountably hard to take the steps which might help him accept the two facts he feared to know.

When the decision to separate was finally carried out and her husband had actually gone, the job was somehow easier. For both mother and child the reality of separation came as a relief from the long dread of it. Her talks with the counselor made it easier for her to talk to Peter too.

"Sometimes mothers and fathers can't live happily together," she explained to him. "They love their children but they quarrel with each other. You have seen this and it has made both us and you unhappy. We believe we can be better friends living apart. Dad will come and see you often. . . . He won't forget to me. I your truck. . . . You can go to the shop too. . . . He is still your father. Your home will be with me until you are a grown-up man. Mothers *never* leave their children."

These things had to be told to Peter often. They were told in many different ways at different times; they were told directly and indirectly; they were told in actions as well as words. His father did come to see him regularly. Only once—after Peter had seen him get all upset—had Mother sent his father away and told him just as though he had been a small child, "You can't come here if you act that way." After that, his father had kept things peaceful when he came.

Gradually Peter realized that he hadn't altogether lost Daddy and that there was really no danger of Mother's leaving. Even when Peter wet his bed Mother was only a little displeased. Yet she wouldn't

let him be *too* bad, and that made him feel safe and protected. When he felt safe and protected he somehow didn't need to be quite so bad. He didn't need to raise a row when his mother wouldn't let him come to her bed. Pretty soon he started keeping dry at night. His mother said she knew he could. She was very happy and so was he. How wonderful that he could now do this! That dreadful thing people called divorce wasn't so dreadful. His mother went on being the same; he had fun when Daddy came. He tried to forget—almost succeeded—about that other matter. . . .

"About that other matter," Peter's mother said to the counselor, "I believe I can tell him about it now. When I first came, it seemed impossible to deal him two blows at once. I was afraid that if he learned he was adopted at just the same time his father left us, it would really wreck his world."

Her hesitation was a natural one. Usually adopted children seem to take the knowledge that they are "chosen babies" pretty much in their stride. If their homes are happy and secure and their development proceeds without unusual stress, children are able to accept the knowledge that they came to their parents differently from other children. If a child's parents feel he is altogether theirs, the child himself senses this feeling and can assimilate the knowledge of adoption with relative ease. Yet even the healthy adopted child in a normal home must digest—and re-digest—this knowledge at successive stages as he gets older and as he gradually realizes its implications. For a child whose home is broken by death or divorce the problem is bound to be harder, the threat to his feeling of security doubled. On the other hand, Peter's mother was right in feeling that there are even graver dangers in postponement. Facts will out. Neighbors and relatives know and betray the truth when least expected. Children uncannily put two and two together. Even children who aren't adopted often imagine that they are. When their suspicions are actually the truth they are even more sensitive to small signs. They wonder at the absence of all the little stories connected with their birth that other children's parents tell. Many trivial occurrences feed suspicions. The blow to a child of learning from strangers that his father and mother aren't really his may be so severe that he can never recover his lost faith in them and in his shattered self-respect. He may feel forever ashamed and branded, even when he locks these feelings within him and keeps up a front of unconcern.

The counselor had talked with Peter's mother about all these things. The counselor told her too that if a child who has suffered a blow like a broken home and learned to accept it, is called on again later in childhood to face another crisis of adjustment, the new blow is likely to revive the pain of the old one and to open old wounds that were well on the way to being healed. On the other hand, if one crisis can follow the other after not too long an interval, the child seems to deal with both of them together and with more finality. But the counselor was careful not to press Peter's mother to go faster than she felt she could. She herself must discover when she was ready.

The time came soon. There was an album of family photographs which contained a snapshot of the building that housed the agency through which Peter's parents had found him.

"We wanted a baby so badly," his mother told him. "We saw you and right away we knew that you were the one we wanted. So you came to live with us and be our child forever and ever."

Peter's hand came up quickly and covered the picture. "I want another *different* story," he said. "I don't like this one. Come." And he pulled his mother away from the book.

Yet as days went on she was sure that he was thinking it all over and this time was not pushing it out of his mind. This was confirmed one evening at story time when he brought the album, saying, "I want you to tell me that story — the one about that baby in that house."

Like all adopted children, Peter's acceptance of the facts was gradual. He proceeded by demands for knowledge, then denials of it when given, then more demands, then again denials, and next time fuller acceptance. His mother explained patiently and let him take his time. She told him that all babies grow in a mother's body, but that his first mother hadn't been able to make a home for him. So he had come to her and to his father. Even though he had grown in another mother's body, it was they who had loved and cared for him since he was tiny. Now *they* were his real parents and always would be.

For a while this much knowledge will be enough for Peter, but it won't last forever. He may remember his mother's words, "Mothers *never* leave their children." What about that first mother who had left him? It would have been easier for both Peter and his mother if that first mother had died. But she hadn't died; she had signed a document renouncing all claim to him. Someday Peter's mother will have

to decide what she is going to tell him about this and Peter may have still another crisis to face.

Peter had to have a tonsillectomy and the counselor went over the management of this event step by step with his mother. Not only should she give him a clear knowledge ahead of time of just what to expect, but in his case the word "operation" might carry special fears. When his mother had an operation they had taken something very important from her, something that meant she could never have babies in her body. For many days she had seemed sad and far away from him, and Peter had wondered and never quite understood. It was especially important, then, that he should understand very clearly just what "operation" meant in his case. His tonsils were like bits of skin in the back of his throat, it was explained. The doctor would take them out so he would have fewer colds; and that was all. No other part of his body would be touched.

With this knowledge — and with his mother beside him exactly when she said she would be and with both his mother and his father coming to take him home again from the hospital, Peter weathered the experience without apparent disturbance.

But Peter had a real setback when plans were made to go away for the summer and he learned that he couldn't go back to the house by the river where he had been last year, where he played with a little girl, and where his father took him out in a boat. Instead, he was to go alone with his mother for days on a train to a place where she had business to do. This was a big disappointment; but it was harder still when he learned that "business" meant getting unmarried. When they came home, his parents would no longer be a husband and wife like other children's parents. Suddenly, as in the beginning, it all seemed unbearable again. All winter, Peter had been hoping that perhaps his father would come home again someday and there wouldn't be a divorce. His father had come regularly, hadn't quarreled with his mother — things had been almost better than before. Now here it was again.

Here it was indeed — and Peter again succumbed to fear and anger. Again there were wet beds, angry thoughts about his mother for letting the divorce happen, bad dreams, his mother's continued refusals to his renewed demands to come to her bed though she came from her room to sit beside him when he was wakeful. Once again he tried to insist, during the day, that she pay him constant attention; he got

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What Is Adolescent Love?

ALLEN V. WILLIAMS

For approximately ten years ALLEN V. WILLIAMS has practiced clinical psychology involving adults, adolescents, and young children. For the past two years he has been Director of the Lenox Hill Consulting Service, Inc., a psychological service that applies psychological methods and theory in diagnosis, carrying out research, and cooperating with community agencies in programs of a psychological nature.

TO speak of a boy and girl in love at the age of thirteen or fourteen is to speak of two youngsters in a period of crisis. There is something about this age that irritates those of us who are parents and members of the various professions interested in the welfare of children. We are irritated not because these young people fall in and out of love — we are too sophisticated for that — but because they do not recognize that they are experiencing a crisis in their lives. If they were more perceptive they would realize this and come to us with their problems. As it is we have to go to them, and this is apt to be very difficult because often it is at just this age that we lose them. They slip through our fingers or remain just outside our grasp. It should be noted here, however, that we are not as badly off as our ancestors in this matter. One of the earliest recorded writings unearthed by archeologists is a clearly chiseled statement which warns the youth of that day to "return to ways of their fathers before it is too late." We pride ourselves that we have today a more intelligent approach to this age-old problem.

In more recent years we have witnessed the rise and fall of a social institution called the chaperone. Her function was a dual one: to act as a kind of catalyst and hasten the heterosexual process along, while simultaneously serving as ballast to slow it down. We found this institution to be no adequate solution, yet perhaps our concept of it was sound. Implicit in the chaperone idea was the recognition that the crisis period involved a process around which there are no detours. In addition there may have been the first glimmering that love between teen-age boys and girls is something they need which is related intrinsically to the larger process of growing up.

Today's parents are aware that adolescence is as much their own crisis as their children's. They know, too, that they have a role in this crisis and that their

own attitudes and behavior toward the young people can be instrumental either in easing or adding to the difficulties of the process. Wise parents also recognize that they must gradually change their relation to the teen-ager if the latter is to attain maturity as a separate individual. To insist that youth model themselves after their fathers is to make adolescence a greater crisis than it already is.

The experience of love in one or another of its manifestations probably begins with the earliest emergence of the child's ego. The term "puppy love," usually used to describe the love relationships of adolescence, should either be discarded altogether or used to describe the love relationships of very young children. It more accurately describes the frisky, playful, devoted attitude of a four-year-old girl toward her father or the love of a six-year-old boy for his first-grade teacher. At a slightly older age children develop "crushes" on one another. This occurs most frequently between children of the same sex, but sometimes also between children of opposite sexes. "Puppy love" hardly describes these relationships; there is no longer the childish quality that characterizes the earlier period.

The psychological changes inherent in the rise of heterosexual relations among adolescent individuals are not fully understood. Two aspects, however, are clear from the outset: By the age of twelve or thirteen the experience of love is emotionally enriched and takes on a more specific hue by virtue of the individual's sexual development; and the more generalized changes occurring in the total personality give a new context to love and a new meaning to the experience. We cannot really separate these two aspects. The new meaning that love has at this time for the boy and girl results from a total process of change, a process that includes strengthened sex desires, changing attitudes toward self, and a changing view and perspective of the world outside.

Most young people fall in love for the first time while in high school, though for some it comes later. It may come as love at first sight or it may emerge after a period of long friendship. Sometimes it takes youngsters by surprise; at other times it happens after extensive daydreaming and wishing to fall in love. The personal experience and feeling tone of love may have for them the clarity and reality of a bright crys-

tal or may be uncertain and ambiguous. However it manifests itself with youngsters of this age, it carries at the core a potential for increased sharing, for new emotions and personality development. Boys and girls need heterosexual relationships as much as they need food, as a basis for growth. If for one reason or another such relationships are not permitted, or the need for them is repressed by the youngster himself, the process may be delayed until he reaches his twenties or later. In these instances the individual is projected into love relationships in an adult world with adult expectations and standards without the benefit of preliminary preparation during adolescence. He has had no opportunity to learn without the necessity to "play for keeps." Under these circumstances conflicts may be multiplied needlessly and result in unfavorable emotional reactions during courtship and marriage.

It is to be expected that during the high-school years young couples will make mistakes in judgment and in emotional attachments. There is no possibility of eliminating the difficulties of this period. There are, however, factors which we may understand, and through understanding help to smooth the way so that our young people are helped to take a responsible role in their relationships with each other.

Meeting the Demands of Adolescence

We have called love in adolescence a process. Processes are usually complicated, and this one is no exception. In addition to strengthened sex desire there is a general reorganizing of personality culminating eventually in adult maturity. As the personality reorganizes, several threads stand out. There is the necessity of giving up the warm, dependent ties to parents and other adults which characterize a younger child's relationships. There is the breaking-up and re-forming of the child's social group. This happens whether or not the child changes from one group to another. At this age his own group changes its functions, activities, and purposes and a new group structure emerges to which the adolescent must find a satisfactory relationship. There is the necessity that parents "let go" of the child at a pace neither too rapid nor too slow. There is the necessity that the child face an environment which by its demands requires of him ever-increasing maturity in thinking, planning, decision-making, and action. Children vary tremendously in the attitudes they bring to the threshold of adolescence. How ready a child is to face this critical time depends to a large extent on the attitudes that have developed through his relation-

ship with his own family and that he carries with him. Yet even with the best of attitudes, the child is not intrinsically equipped to move through heterosexual relationships without at least a mild struggle.

Faced with heterosexual relationships, the youngster must change his old frames of reference and develop new ones suitable for the evaluation of new problems. No one can sit him down and teach him the knowledge, beliefs, and values necessary for this. A youngster, or an adult for that matter, can make new knowledge a working part of himself only when he feels he has discovered this knowledge for himself. Parents often cannot understand why their offspring do not listen to good advice or take advantage of the parents' experience. The fact is that this kind of learning comes only of experiencing for oneself, making one's own inroads into the problems and discovering for oneself the solutions. This is true of adults as well as children, but it comes to our attention dramatically during adolescence when we become piqued by our children's insistence on going their own way. They are only insisting on their right to follow the road natural to them.

As young people of the opposite sex enter into mutual relationships and fall in love with each other, there are many surface manifestations that we have all observed but that are not easily understood. Certain general principles may help us develop a view of what these manifestations mean and what lies behind them. Perhaps the first thing that strikes us is the way the youngsters change their attitudes and behavior from one moment to the next. Characteristically, early heterosexual relations are unstable. We have all seen the boy who at one moment is extremely domineering, even aggressive, toward his girl friend and the next moment submissive and willing to be ruled. We have seen the girl who at one moment expresses great optimism about the future of her love for a particular boy and on the following day is filled with doubt or even gloom. At parties, particularly during the early teens, it is common to see much unevenness in behavior as youngsters are sophisticated on the one hand and very childish on the other. The behavior of youngsters in their love relationships is usually marked by ambivalence. There are several ways to account for this: One theory would interpret this ambivalence as the result of the inner conflicts of the inexperienced self (ego) striving to control the new instinctual drives that come to the fore with puberty. The young person has not yet proper defenses or ways to handle these

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Group Living: New Patterns in Family Life

PETER B. NEUBAUER, M.D.

PETER B. NEUBAUER is chief psychiatrist at both the Community Service Society, in New York, and the Brooklyn office of the Council Child Development Center. This article is based on some of his observations during the summer of 1949 which he spent studying child welfare conditions in Israel.

WE have been accustomed to think of family life as a single unit of mother, father, and children. It is interesting to look at the family in a culture which by the force of circumstances has found it necessary to expand this unit into a broader group.

Thousands of years ago the rich soil of Israel yielded abundant crops, and the harvests were plentiful. Time, however, has wrought many changes, and today much of this land is barren desert and rocky hill. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, immigrants have traveled to Israel in search of a new life. The difficulties and hardships to be encountered by a lone settler on this land would have taxed the strongest pioneer spirit. So group living was established, and the cooperative settlement, now known as one of Israel's unique attractions, was developed.

Many professional groups, particularly those concerned with child development, have become interested in learning about Israel's settlements and the effects of group living on its people. A brief description of such a settlement will, I believe, lead to a number of important questions that may deepen our understanding of child development problems as seen in our own country.

There are several hundred cooperative settlements in Israel, and different forms of group living have arisen from them. I shall describe that settlement known as a Kibbutz (plural, Kibbutzim). Between 250 and 2,000 people live in a Kibbutz. They share the work and they share the fruits of their labor. No one has privileged interest within a settlement or outside it. There is no police force. Kibbutzim are rural settlements that at first existed principally on farming and profits from farm produce. Today most of them have added industrial production. A settlement sends its commodities to be sold locally and abroad and receives proceeds from the sales of its products.

The Kibbutz has a common dining room, and common bath facilities are still prevalent. A newborn child is placed in a nursery as soon as the mother re-

turns from the hospital. Between ten and fifteen children in the first-year age group will have preceded him there. Specially trained nurses and nurses' aides care for the children. These children constitute a group, grow up together, live together until they are adolescents.

For the first three months of the baby's life, the mother is relieved of her work so that she can nurse and care for her child. About ninety per cent of the mothers are said to nurse their babies. Gradually the nurse takes over the daily care of the infant. When the mother returns to work, she may interrupt her day periodically in order to continue nursing the child. After the weaning period, the parents visit their child for several hours after work each day. Every evening the older children visit their parents in their home.

If your reaction to this is at all similar to mine or that of my colleagues, you will register surprise. In our culture, we are accustomed to the father spending the working day away from the child; but if the mother is free to follow her choice, the trend has been for her to devote as much time as possible to the infant and growing child. Not only has breast feeding become "modern" again, but the mother's care of the child during his first few years of life has been encouraged wherever this is possible and has been accepted as beneficial and even essential.

We have stressed early childhood experience. We have learned that the child's character development and many emotional difficulties which may come into full force later on can be traced to that early period. The security of his relationships at this time decides the child's ability to extend contact and to form relationships first with other members of the family, then with people outside the family unit.

As we well know, one expression of parent-child disharmony is anxiety connected with separation from the parent. When I spoke to nursery-school teachers and parents in the Kibbutzim, I asked particularly about separation anxiety in the young children. I was told that there is no "separation problem" worth observing in the Kibbutzim. Children go to bed without struggling to prolong their day. They do not scream when their parents leave, nor do they follow the mother around wherever she goes.

Since parents in the Kibbutzim have their share of emotional problems and would be just as likely to

create separation anxieties as parents elsewhere, the question arises: What are the reasons for the apparent absence of this difficulty, particularly since separation is so much a part of these children's early experience? I should like to suggest some factors which will need further exploration and study.

We know that one element in a child's fear of leaving his mother is his mother's inability to let him "go." In the Kibbutz, the group ideology is stronger than any individual's need to "hang on."

Children in the Kibbutzim never experience a relationship that is singularly focused on themselves, one in which all attention is directed toward them. When one has never known a life where others were not cared for equally with oneself, it is not so difficult to adjust to the birth of a younger child, and this new situation does not alter one's relationships so drastically. When the parents go to work they are still available to the child, who knows they are within reach. He knows where to find them, and very often may see them at work.

Since the members of the group share the same interests, the same goals, and the same conditions of life, strong identifications are possible. In many ways these settlements function as a psychological unit. Under the circumstances of Kibbutz life, a child's feeling of protection reaches beyond the family and he feels no threat of danger even when his parents are not present. Elsewhere, when a child meets an adult, he is usually meeting a stranger. In the Kibbutz, the psychological unit within which the child lives and develops consists of a great number of people who are familiar to him.

In this young country, children are precious. They are the hope of the future. Children in these settlements are well aware how much they are valued by the whole group. Much stress is placed on their health and their needs, and there are many expressions of pride in the children as part of the group experience.

What is family life like in such a group? To pose the question in another way, since adults other than parents care for the child for so many hours of the day, from earliest infancy, does this lead to a dilution of the family? As far as I could observe, the family as a unit is very much intact. When parents enter the children's quarters, it can easily be observed that the relationship of their children to them is specific. It is interesting to watch the playgrounds on Saturdays when the parents are able to spend a full day with their children. Families remain together, and each one is somehow separate from the others. The

large group divides into small units based on family relationships.

One sees, too, how the personality of the parents penetrates through group life to the child, how under pathological circumstances the ambivalent mother creates problems in the child. Sibling rivalry may become a part of the experience of the child who forms a rivalry relationship to a brother or sister living in an older or a younger group. A child who may, perhaps, be disappointed in an ineffectual father chooses a shepherd or a tractor driver or any of the many heroes in the group for identification. The secure parents still seem to have the secure children.

The Effects of Group Living on Young Children

What about the influence of the mother and the nurse on the very young child? We know that group living is not possible during the first and second years of life. The young child may live in a group, but he does not take part in its formation. During that period, wherever the child may be, the adult-child relationship is the important one. The understanding and skill of the mother and the nurse are paramount.

Many of these young children express their problems in thumbsucking, biting, and aggressive behavior. Very often the pressure of time limits the individual feeding period too much. Sometimes shifts from one nurse to another are made too abruptly, and this is followed by regressive behavior in the child. Frequently, inadequate time is given to efforts at understanding the child's emotional needs, and this leads to fixation of patterns that indicate deviant development. However, it is not our purpose here to describe the effects of a lack of skillful handling, which too often is due to demands imposed on communities struggling for their physical existence.

The group experience seems to make itself noticeable particularly after the age of three. Observing children in this age group, one is struck by the diminution of aggressive manifestations. Temper tantrums, destructive behavior, fighting are at a minimum. One realizes that the absence of such manifestations does not necessarily indicate good adjustment.

When asked our well-known question — "If you could have three wishes" — these youngsters frequently give replies that reveal their identification with the group. I have had an opportunity to study an eight-year-old boy born in a Kibbutz who now lives in New York. When I asked him what he

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Parents' Questions

The questions published here are selected and discussed by the staff of the Child Study Association, and the answers written by various members. The department is edited by Aline B. Auerbach.

Our three-year-old must soon have a tonsillectomy and we are eager to help him through it as comfortably and as free from fear about it as possible. How much should we tell him in advance? What should we do at the time of the operation itself?

Mrs. R. P. M.

You are right to give this matter careful thought. Even an operation that is a mere trifle from the surgical point of view may, if mishandled, be emotionally very upsetting. The important thing is that your little boy should feel, first and foremost, that his parents have been perfectly honest with him and, second, that they have stood by him through a strange and therefore terrifying experience. No matter how gentle doctors and nurses are, a child — especially a young one — needs familiar people around him, especially his parents. Otherwise he is likely to feel betrayed and deserted. If this should happen, he isn't likely to accept later explanations of how it all came about. What makes it even harder is the fact that children don't always voice this sense of betrayal. They may seem unperturbed on the surface while locking the grievance deep inside themselves.

Here are some suggestions that may help: A few days ahead of the operation tell your little boy that the doctor is going to take his tonsils out of the back of his throat to prevent his having so many colds. Assure him that no other part of his body will be touched. Tell him where he will go and who will be with him; tell him about the anesthetic to put him to sleep so he won't feel anything, about waking up in bed, and who will be there when he wakes. Describe how the anesthetic is given. Let him know he'll have a sore throat when he wakes up but that he'll get over it soon and what will be done for his comfort. There'll be a new toy waiting for him at home too, as a kind of celebration.

Actually, though this sounds like a lot, it can be told briefly; though your description should be clear and specific, it certainly shouldn't be made to sound ominous.

After you've told him, make sure that you're alert to afterthoughts or questions he may have. No matter how clear you make your explanation, it is impossible to know what a child will make of it. Instead of asking more questions, children often show their anxiety by misbehavior of one kind or another; and this should be a signal to the parents that the child is anxious and needs extra consideration.

As for the operation itself — ideally, before the general anesthetic a child should have a mild sedative in his own hospital bed, rather than in the operating room. Ideally his mother should be with him as he loses consciousness and beside him when he regains it. But if this is forbidden in your particular set-up, be sure you know it in advance and explain it to your child fully. This will mean your getting a clear picture from the doctor ahead of time, of just exactly what will happen. The important thing is that there should be no surprises, no broken promises, and that your child believes you will be with him as much as is allowed.

Needless to say, your own self-control and good sense are essential for your child's peace of mind. They will also make your doctor far more willing to let you play your important role of standing by.

Judy, just five, enters kindergarten next month. I wanted to send her to a nursery school last year to prepare her for a large public-school group, but there were none in our neighborhood. She is a fairly independent little girl who plays well with other children, but she is an only child, very much attached to her mother and father from whom she has been separated for only brief intervals. How can I help her accept this separation?

Mrs. B. W.

You have obviously thought a good deal about helping your daughter take this important step toward independence. The fact that her tie to you has been a close one does not necessarily mean she will find separation more difficult. Many times when parents and children have had the satisfaction of being close in the early years, they are readier for the gradual emotional weaning that is part of growing up.

Children can be introduced to the new and unfamiliar so that it need not be difficult to accept. By

word pictures and, where possible, by actual visits to the school or to the school grounds, you can help Judy foresee what will be involved in this experience. One mother and her son took picnic lunches to the school playground two or three times during the summer. On the first day of school, the little boy marched off by himself, a little scornful of the children who went with their mothers.

There are wide differences in children's ability to accept new experiences or separation from their mothers, however, so don't be concerned if it is not that easy with Judy. Certainly, it would be quite usual to take your child to school the first day. If she is reluctant to have you leave, a little gentle reassurance may be all that is needed; tell her that you will be waiting for her when school is out, and that you know she will have a good time with the other children. If she seems really frightened, you may want to get the advice of the teacher or principal. In unusual circumstances where resistance is prolonged and intense, professional counseling may be needed to get at the root of the child's anxiety.

Many times, it is the parents more than the child who find the separation so difficult. Even when a mother tries to put up a cheery front, however, if her child's first school experience is too difficult for her or stirs up her own apprehension as to how the child will adjust, it can be upsetting to him, too. Children do seem to sense our anxiety. On the other hand, our own attitude of quiet confidence is contagious, too.

Our dog was recently killed by a car — a blow to all of us, but especially to our eight-year-old son. Five days have gone by, and the boy is still grieving — unduly, it seems to me. He doesn't seem to want to talk about his feelings. Is there anything I can do or say to make this experience less painful for him?

Mrs. M. B. J.

Children of your son's age often form very deep attachments to their pets, especially dogs. Your son's reluctance to discuss his loss does seem to indicate that he is upset. A simple, matter-of-fact explanation of the life-death cycle in nature may help to reassure him. Without forcing the issue, let him understand that all living things must sometime die, yet their personalities — even those of dogs — live on in the hearts of those who loved them. Talking to him about the dog's death and letting him

know that you, too, are sad will make it more acceptable to him, for he will know that he isn't alone or different in his feelings. His close relationship to you and the rest of the family will tide him over this very real crisis, as it will through others as they come. In the meantime, the best cure for his present grief may be a new dog — preferably a puppy of his own choosing.

Some months ago my husband lost the job he's had for many years. He hasn't been able to find another job of a kind that would secure a good living for all of us. Meanwhile, I've had to cut down on many things we formerly took for granted, and my daughter is finding this hard to take. She's fifteen and naturally wants to have and do what the others in her crowd do. I understand this, and keep trying to give her all I can, but sooner or later she'll have to face the realities. How can I handle this?

Mrs. A. C.

Yours isn't any easy problem, especially since the situation inevitably involves a lot of other strains for all of you. Probably you will help your daughter most by putting first things first. At fifteen she can participate with you in deciding which these first things should be. Without being burdened with problems she cannot solve, she can share with you some of the thinking and planning and budgeting of present resources. She isn't too young, either, to understand something of what the situation means to her father emotionally, and the difficulties he is facing. Discuss this with her. It's important that you work out a realistic evaluation of what matters most, and put your efforts into salvaging these. Instead of feeling sorry for your daughter, turn her attention to the basic problem of what you and she might do to help out. Aren't there some ways in which one of you or both cooperating could either earn or save to tide over this emergency? The sacrifice involved may well be repaid by the satisfaction of making a vital contribution to the family. The feeling that you are working together will help all of you.

I hope that this does not seem to suggest a Pollyanna attitude in the face of a very hard problem. One cannot minimize the difficulties of such crises in family life and the hard problems they create; but the hope for family survival lies, I believe, in the feelings of the family members that they are all in this together, sharing the difficulties and the responsibilities, each in his own way.

Suggestions for Study Groups

This outline is based on the articles in this issue and is offered as a guide to readers who wish to use CHILD STUDY as source material for group study and discussion. The department is edited by Margaret Meigs.

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION

The discussion of "Critical Times in a Child's Life" should give us a deeper understanding not only of these periods of crisis but also of periods of normal growth with its everyday problems. The authors make this connection clear by discussing two kinds of crises in children's lives. One set, as Dr. Coleman and Mr. Williams point out, is of this everyday kind which finds its roots in the normal cycle of growth wherein each new level of development presents new problems. The other type of crisis, discussed here especially by Dr. Mahler and in the feature based on a case from the Family Counseling Service, consists in the new and unusual demands external circumstance may impose on the individual. These critical times may be severely taxing, as in the case of death or divorce in the child's family, or, as Dr. Coleman points out, apparently trivial, as in such a normal new experience as a first haircut.

Several important themes emerge from the authors' treatment of the subject of crisis.

1. Again and again it is pointed out that preparation to meet challenging difficulties or deep tragedy cannot be provided at the moment of crisis; it is developed from the kind of life experiences that the individual has had before the crisis arose. Out of the consistent and realistic management of everyday life, from infancy onward, comes the inner strength to cope with crisis.

2. In helping a child through a period of crisis, an adult needs to understand how to scale adult expression to the child's level. This includes knowing both how to make oneself clear to a child and how to understand the ways in which a child expresses himself. "Helping Children to Accept Death" and "Troubles Don't Come Singly" provide good illustrative material on this point.

3. We are reminded that in critical times it is not the right set of words, the correct decision, or the apt plan that we need most to seek. Rather, we are advised, let the words and the course of action flow out of our sincere and mature attitude. In the case study

of Peter, it is shown how the psychological counselor may help a confused individual to realize this mature attitude. In personal relationships, as is stated in the article on group living, it is the *quality* that counts.

4. When a child faces a grave problem, or even a minor one, an adult has a double problem. He has first of all his own personal reaction to the problem. In addition, he has the further task of helping the youngster cope with it as it exists for the child. We need to keep this dual aspect in mind, for many extra problems arise when we neglect the fact of our own trouble in helping the child or fail to take into account the effect of his distress on ours. Sometimes we find ourselves trying to project on our children our own feelings, or to interpret their behavior in the light of our own problem.

5. Lastly, the authors reaffirm the modern faith that problems are to be recognized as the stuff of experience rather than the curse of existence. The crises of young love, the revolt of adolescence are the valuable proving ground of later maturity. It is difficult for the conscientious parent to accept problems as a necessary part of the adjustment process because problem behavior is associated with failure in adjustment. We need to distinguish between the two and to learn to accept with equanimity, but not blindly, the problem behavior that indicates progress in critical times in our children's lives.

To Discuss

Discuss the difference between a critical period in a child's growth and a critical event. How does all previous experience help children to face critical times?

How can we help a child to learn from his mistakes? How can we accept the fact of a youngster's mistakes without sanctioning the mistake?

What criteria can we set up to distinguish between behavior that is a symptom of unsuccessful effort at adjustment and behavior that denotes progress toward adjustment? How can the same kind of behavior, such as an increase in aggressive action, be under varying circumstances symptoms of both progress and deterioration in adjustment?

Contrast critical periods of a child's life in a Kibbutz with critical periods in lives of children who are growing up in families in your community.

Discuss the question of children's attendance at

(Continued on page 118)

Science Contributes

THE PLIGHT OF THE STRANGER

(Adapted from "The Strange Hen," by David M. Levy, M.D.,
American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, April, 1950)

ALL of us are aware somehow of the plight of the stranger. All of us, too, are able to recall some of the feelings that, as insiders, we have felt toward the outsider. For, if we have moved about at all, even in the same community, we have had to play the roles of insider and outsider, of those who belong and those who don't, of home folk and strange folk.

Group response to the newcomer may take the form of sporadic fist fights, as among boys, or more organized and attenuated attacks, as in fraternity initiations, or a period of polite probation as in a faculty or club.

Groups differ in their acceptance of a stranger, in their absorptive capacity. When they are old, homogeneous, and, in the animal sense, highly territorial and static, which translated in human terms comes to mean strongly inured in inherited place and position, their absorptive capacity is low, as in those villages in Maine, where the stranger, however well regarded, never quite belongs. After all, no matter how long his years of residence, he wasn't born there and no one knew his grandfather. Some groups, on the other hand, absorb the newcomer with relative ease. The reason may lie in a heterogeneous quality, as in the old western frontier towns when they were still composed of individuals whose social values were not rigidly bound by place and position. Sophisticated and simple people alike may form societies in which strangers are absorbed with relative ease.

The human response to the newcomer, whether it has a basis in instinct or not, is apparently highly flexible. The ease with which children can learn hostile or friendly attitudes toward people is too well known to readers of this magazine to need elaboration. The exploitation of suspicious attitudes toward whomever one chooses to regard as an outsider, by those in position to mold public opinion, is also a familiar story.

Too familiar, also, is the knowledge that once a group have been stigmatized as "outsiders," they may fall prey to a variety of discontents that have no logical relation to them.

What is not known, however, is the nature of the response to the stranger—as a basic biosocial mechanism, as the response of any organized group, birds

or mammals, to a newcomer of the same species.

When two grown-up roosters, or hens, or rats, or dogs, or monkeys, each a stranger to the other, are brought together for the first time, one invariably attempts to dominate the other. Dominance is achieved, whether by bluff or by battle, in a few minutes. The animals in their first contact appear to size each other up, and this is an important factor, though not the sole factor, in determining a stable relationship of ascendance and submission for a long period of time.

"Sizing each other up" on first acquaintance is typically human as well as animal behavior; and though the process among ourselves appears to be a rapid screening of a large variety of personality attributes, it may contain the same element of dominance, in the form of competitive comparisons, and probably a more basic element also, one to which the element of dominance may be subordinate, namely, a defensive maneuver, an alertness to potential danger.

To differentiate between the individual response to the stranger, which is one of attempted domination, and to arrive at something of the nature of group response, some experiments, which will be described, were carried on. It is difficult to study the human response in its simple, basic dimensions, because it is so enmeshed in a conceptual framework. Nevertheless, certain basic tendencies appear so frequently and are taken so for granted that their implications appear to escape us—namely, the tendency to be part of a group, which means also to do all one can to avoid exclusion from it. This tendency, which makes social organization possible in man as in animals, appears to represent a basic drive, without which animal species could not evolve.

A chick feels more at home with chicks, and a duckling with other ducklings. Their seeking of each other comes about in early life, regardless of experience with a mother animal. This seeking involves selective recognition. It is evidently a basic drive. It is operative before dominating tendencies are asserted, and precedes also evidence of sexual activity.

My own studies of chicks and hens may help to

bring these problems into sharper focus, if not to solve them.

In two adjoining hen houses, large and small, the large one contained a flock of 65 hens, the small one a flock of 12. The hens, New Hampshire Reds, were all of the same age and had lived in their respective places about a year. A hen from the small house was picked up and placed in the large house, where she had never been before. She advanced a few steps and pecked from the floor. In that position she was close to several hens. Two of them pecked her sharply. She ran, stopped, then crouched under a food hopper. There she stayed for a few minutes, and then came out. Two other hens which had stalked her thrust their beaks at her. She dodged and ran, to find herself in front of another hen, ready to attack.

Within ten minutes, the strange hen was easily spotted as different. Actually, she remained on one spot for longer periods of time than the others. When she moved, her gait was faster. Besides alternating statuesque postures and fast walking, there were sudden quick scurries. She stayed under cover more than the others, favored isolated areas, and avoided other hens, especially where they were close together as at the feeding trough or water fountain. She acted as though she were under constant threat of attack. She ran before she was struck. She never fought back. Her adjustment to the role of stranger was quite submissive, more so than that of any other hen in this series of experiments.

Her behavior was in marked contrast with that of another hen, an aggressive stranger, who seemed to stir up contenders the moment she was put down on the floor of the large hen house. In the first three minutes, she had a series of battles of the cockfight variety, with jumps, dodges, stalking, rise of hackle feathers, and hard pecks at comb and wattles, some of them drawing blood. She took on each aggressor, one after the other. She revealed no sign of avoidance until the seventeenth fight — her first defeat. Thereafter, though she stood her ground in a few battles, her behavior resembled in every respect that of the previous newcomer.

Numerous experiments of this type of initial encounter of single hens with an organized group ended the same way, regardless of the stranger's mode of response. After the flurry of fighting and chasing in the first half hour, there was generally an end to the acute phase of social contact. Yet, for some days thereafter, the stranger was easily identified by its distance and demeanor. In time, however, such marks of identification were lost. In six to ten days, or

longer, the strangers blended. Staying at a distance and other signs of wary behavior disappeared. The erstwhile strangers were now to be seen in close contact with the others at feeding trough or water fountain or roosting board. They were fully blended, full-fledged members of the group.

What is significant in this behavior? A primitive need of contact as a basic component of all social behavior seems, theoretically, a more fundamental concept than that of a particular form of relationship, such as dominance, that may evolve after social contact is made. No matter how badly the stranger was treated, it refused to become a recluse. The boy who has moved to a new neighborhood wants to be part of the group. He wants first to belong. That need appears to take precedence over the dominance drive, the drive we perceive in humans as a need of self-assertion. Although the group sets up barriers to the strange boy, as it does to the strange hen, both persist in overcoming them, as though to gain acceptance by the group.

Wanting to be like the others is a strong tendency in children. The influence of one's own age group rises and falls with the need to be part of the group. It appears to be particularly strong in the pre-adolescent period, at nine years of age to twelve, and again throughout adolescence. It is interesting that the child's group allegiance may run counter to persistent parental influence. We are also well aware in our clinical experience of exaggerated drives toward absorption in the group, as though to resolve thereby all anxieties arising from feelings of difference.

An Experiment with Chicks

A study of the behavior involved in social drives as they unfolded in chicks would, it was hoped, throw more light on this problem. For these observations the chicks involved were all hatched from eggs of the same flock of New Hampshire Reds as had been used for the studies described before. Five chicks were left with the hen. Six were kept in an incubator for ten days, after hatching.

At ten days of age, both groups, the incubator or orphan chicks and the chicks with the mother hen, were placed in adjoining houses, separated by a wall. Orphan chicks and hen chicks were placed on different occasions and for varying intervals of time in the adjoining house.

When the chicks were three weeks old, two of the orphans were placed in the other room with the hen and her chicks. They advanced to the others, then,

(Continued on page 123)

Book Reviews

Practical and Theoretical Aspects of Psychoanalysis. By Lawrence S. Kubie, M.D. International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1950. 252 pp. \$4.00.

A new publication by Lawrence Kubie is important, even though the book, *Practical and Theoretical Aspects of Psychoanalysis*, is a revision and expansion of a book originally published in 1936.

For all readers, educators, psychologists, social workers, physicians, and lay people, the new chapters of the present volume which develop the moral, cultural, and social aspects of psychoanalysis will prove the most provocative. With compelling arguments, Dr. Kubie directs attention to the important contribution that psychoanalysis can make to the amelioration of some of the disruptive and disintegrative processes existent in the world today. Guaranteeing the Fifth Freedom, "freedom from the tyranny of the unconscious," to a maximum number of human beings will result, he believes, in a greater acceptance of moral responsibility, and the development of sounder political concepts when "men seek emancipation with open eyes free from neurotic distortion."

All readers, lay as well as professional, will find especially stimulating the chapter, "Controversies and Frontiers," which includes a brief review of the influences of various post-Freudian personalities, Adler, Jung, Rank, Horney, Klein, etc., upon the development of psychoanalysis; a discussion of controversies stemming from both theory and technique; and a statement of needed research in the field.

Professional workers responsible for the healthful development of children will regret that more extended treatment was not accorded problems relating to analytic work with children. Dr. Kubie's position is clearly stated, and is worthy of quotation: "The universal troubles of childhood are the larval manifestations of the process out of which neuroses evolve. . . ." He advocates, therefore, a program of prevention:

First, we would test the effects of different forms of social and family structure on the tendency to deal with conflicts by repression. Second, we would try to educate young parents in the methods by which the tendency of children to repress can be minimized. Finally, we would treat every neurotic upset of childhood as an acute medical emergency, which demanded immediate and intensive analytic help.

Probably no single group of readers will profit more from reading the book than those anticipating analysis. The author's rich professional experience enables him to include answers to the questions about psychoanalysis uppermost in the minds of the uninformed — lay and professional. Misconceptions regarding analysis are dealt with throughout the text. Indeed, the only repetition to be found in the book occurs when the author garners most of these misconceptions and treats them in a single chapter.

Although the book evidences a certain regrettable unevenness of development, and is directed to a broad group of readers which partially dilutes what each group may draw from it, it is thoroughly readable and represents a rich distillation of the experiences of one of the outstanding psychoanalysts of our time.

FRANCES M. WILSON
Director of Guidance,

Board of Education of the City of New York

Educating Our Daughters. By Lynn White, Jr. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950. 166 pp. \$2.50.

Higher education for women has suffered from a double handicap since the days when it first began to be recognized that young ladies, as well as young men, might benefit from college. In the first place, says Dr. White, who is president of Mills College for women, liberal education to this day has never quite outgrown its history. In mediæval times, "the educated person was both male and celibate," and for many centuries education was considered to be the prerogative of gentlemen, whose categories of values included goodness, truth, and beauty, but to whom skill, or competence in practical matters, was irrelevant. The second handicap, also derived from history, is peculiar to the situation of women: it is the fact that the early feminists felt that to attain "equality" with men, they must be as much like men as possible, and they proceeded to take over wholesale the values of masculine education when they began to develop their own colleges. Thus a recognition of the special needs and aptitudes of women is only slowly beginning to make some headway.

Dr. White puts his special subject in the wider frame of liberal education in general, feeling that the problem of "educating our daughters" will not be solved until there is a real attempt to prepare students of both sexes to live more satisfying and productive lives in an increasingly complex world. Especially do the colleges need to give more importance to courses

in family living and such related fundamental sciences as anthropology, psychology, and sociology. He reminds us that most college graduates become fathers and mothers, and those who do not marry will be concerned with the community, which is an extension of the family.

Men and women *are* different, but far from implying the superiority of one sex, the book points out that the capacities and interests of each have equally important values for society. By far the most important objective of feminine education is to give women the assurance that they are "as worthy of respect as men, and that the things they tend to do best are as significant and honorable as the things men tend to do best." There are other objectives that are not accomplished by our present system—a girl must be prepared to support herself if she does not marry, or to run a family if she does; and she must understand the "forces that have brought herself and her fellow American women to their present ambiguous . . . status." These need not interfere with her enjoyment of the opportunities for studying the humanities and sciences presented by all liberal arts universities. Indeed, Dr. White believes strongly in co-education—provided it really is "co-," and women are given a status as educators and administrators more nearly like that of men than they now enjoy.

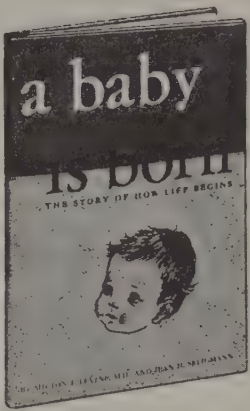
After so much really good talk about the larger issues in education for both men and women, we are reminded in the last chapter—"How to Pick a College"—that the author's original intention was to write a book for parents who want to send their daughters to college. His advice is both practical and indicative of his broad vision. He has written a book which will be read with profit and enjoyment by anyone who is interested in higher education from any point of view.

FRANCES H. JAMEISON

Jealousy in Children: A Guide for Parents. By Edmund Ziman, M.D. A. A. Wyn, Inc., New York, 1949. 229 pp. \$2.75.

This is a confusing book because it is full of half-truths. The author recognizes the child's inner struggles with his jealousy of other brothers and sisters, especially with a new baby, and is fully aware of the difficulties and symptoms that may result. The book is replete with case histories of children who suffered from sibling jealousy and miraculously got over their

(Continued on page 114)



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BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from page 113)

troubles as soon as their parents woke up and administered the remedy.

The trouble is that the remedy — and often the diagnosis — is too simple. Certainly jealous children need parents who are extra sensitive to their plight, who can keep on loving them in spite of it, and who can tolerate the hostility and other disturbances that may accompany jealousy without themselves becoming disturbed and hostile. But it is quite another thing to permit the jealous child to regress as far as he likes into infantile behavior, to offer him not only the bottle but the breast when he envies the baby these things, and to try to prove to him over and over by words and trickery that his parents, despite appearances, still love him.

What Dr. Ziman appears to forget is that in addition to love, a growing child — even a jealous one — also wants his parents to provide suitable controls and to hold him in some measure to behavior that is acceptable to his own conscience. He will not feel any better about things if his parents seem to love him *more* than another child than if they love him *less*. This would make for him a topsy-turvy world where parents, instead of being good and just, play favorites. The same holds if they allow him too great backsliding in his daily behavior. Tolerance, yes, but not the extreme permissiveness that Dr. Ziman seems to encourage.

Another of the book's serious shortcomings is that parents are constantly cast in the role of villain of the piece. They appear as the authors of all neurotic patterns in childhood as well as the creators of brother-sister rivalries. Actually some tension within the family group is inevitable no matter how wisely parents manage or how active and healthy-minded children are. Parents, of course, can do much to accentuate or to mitigate these rivalries, but they cannot, as Dr. Ziman seems to suggest, prevent them by simple precautions. When a child wants sole possession of his love object he will not at once accept the idea of sharing; an inner struggle ensues which parents cannot hope to eliminate all at once by changed tactics. What they can do is patiently to give the child understanding support through a period of adjustment which may take time. Parents will carry out this difficult assignment better if they are advised that the problem is by no means wholly of their making.

ANNA W. M. WOLF

Children's Books as Tools for Living

WITH all that books bring into the lives of children, it would seem that in these troubled yet adventurous times they must also serve as useful guides for widening interests and sympathies and sharpening young readers' awareness of the world and their own place in it.

In 1943, the Children's Book Committee of the Child Study Association noted with regret the dearth of books for young people which touched the realities so dramatically highlighted by the war. To encourage writers and publishers to focus on the need for sincere and forthright stories dealing with contemporary life the world over, the Committee set up an award to be given to a book "which faces with honesty and courage real problems in our children's world today."

The books so far honored, and a few other noteworthy books of the seven intervening years, deal with a complex of problems. There are the delicate adjustments within the child himself, his family relationships, his struggles and achievements, and his attitudes toward people and ideas at home and abroad. There are, too, the broader problems children encounter in school or in the community.

A good many of these books support the Committee's premise that stories growing out of real problem situations can be engaging and entertaining, too. Many of them have been written with integrity and artistry, with credible, even memorable characters and sound incidents.*

Life in the Family and Neighborhood

One of the most common yet difficult adjustments a child is called upon to make is the acceptance of a baby brother or sister. After many unsuccessful efforts to present this problem in story form, Liselotte Frankl's *Peter and His New Brother* came as a welcome picture-story with which a small child may find it comforting to identify himself. Else McKean's *Davy's Bad Day* presents a similar situation, with rivalry already established, and suggesting a helpful approach.

Other family relationships are successfully presented in several stories. *Alice's Family*, by Lorraine Beim, reveals many of the frictions in an ordinary

household and indicates wholesome ways in which they may be resolved. Exceptional warmth between a boy and his father is reflected in Frances Neilsen's *Giant Mountain*. In striking contrast, Doris Gates' *My Brother Mike* presents the troubles of an abandoned boy who tracks down his errant father and wins back his interest. In Don and Betty Emblen's *The Palomino Boy* there is a moving relationship between a Mexican-Indian orphan and three elderly women with whom he makes his home. Mina Lewiton, in *The Divided Heart*, presents the problem of divorce as it affects the life of a sensitive adolescent drawn now to one parent and now to the other. In *A Cup of Courage* the same author highlights the personal and social strains of family life with an alcoholic father.

For the growing child life soon extends beyond the family to the neighborhood. In *Two Is a Team*, by Lorraine and Jerrold Beim, two playmates, one Negro and the other white (identifiable, however, only from the illustrations), learn that to have a good wagon they have to build it together. In *The Smallest Boy in the Class* these same authors introduce the young reader to another important idea, that a moral quality like generosity counts more than physical size. How the cruelty of schoolmates can lead a child in a minority group to retreat into a life of fantasy is sensitively told in Eleanor Estes' fine story, *The Hundred Dresses*, now almost a classic.

Problems of Growing Up

Growing up may involve numerous difficulties: personal frustrations, economic need, illness, contact with death. Among the stories posing such problems are Gregor Felsen's *Bertie Comes Through*, *Bertie Takes Care*, and *Bertie Makes a Break*, in which persistence and a sense of humor help a boy overcome the handicap of being too fat. The problem of shyness is deftly handled by Darlene Geis in *Design for Ann*. Illness, its acceptance and its effects on the normal activities and aspirations of children, is treated in Ruth Sawyer's *Old Con and Patrick*, Kate Seredy's *A Tree for Peter*, and Anne Molloy's *Pigeoneers*. *Clay Fingers*, by Adele de Leeuw, *Pass That Puck*, by Richard Flood, and *Triumph Clear*, by Lorraine Beim, all center about the effects of illness on choice of career.

Even death may be made somewhat more understandable and less terrifying to children through such

* The books mentioned in this review are described more fully, including information on publishers, prices, etc., in the Committee's list, "Let Them Face It: Today's World in Books for Boys and Girls," available from the Association for twenty cents.

a moving and timeless story as Pearl Buck's *The Big Wave*, which received the Committee's 1948 award. Marguerite Harmon Bro opens her young novel, *Sarah*, with the death of the heroine's father — a strong influence on her as the story progresses.

Certain books attempt to face some of the challenges of adolescence: choice of vocation and mate, the struggle for independence, progress toward self-confidence and full expression. Among them are *The House*, by Marjorie Hill Allee, award book of 1944; Anne Emery's *Mountain Laurel*, *Senior Year*, and *Going Steady*; Josephine Blackstock's *Rue Plays the Game*; and Lorraine Beim's *Sugar and Spice*, which makes a strong case for a girl's right to professional training and an eventual career. The challenge of hard work for a movie career is reflected in the Beims' *Spotlight for Danny* which is definitely not a "success story." The values of occupational therapy as a career are explored in Mary Wolfe Thompson's *Hill Haven*; a career in medicine, in Adele de Leeuw's *Dr. Ellen* and *Susie Steward, M.D.*; the art and vocation of teaching, in Hubert Skidmore's *River Rising* and in Loula Grace Erdman's *Fair Is the Morning*.

Both Genevieve Fox's *Cynthia of Bee Tree Hollow* and John Tunis' *Son of the Valley* highlight the TVA and its impact on communities and the young people living in them. Absorbing farm stories that also grapple with community problems are Paul Corey's *Corn Gold Farm*, Adam Allen's *New Broome Experiment*, M. I. Ross' *Morgan's Fourth Son*, Robert Davis' *Gid Granger*, and Elizabeth Low's *High Harvest*. Forest conservation to reclaim the earth in a mining community provides the rich background for Maria Gleit's *Paul Tiber*, *Forester*, award book for 1949.

Books with a labor background remain small in number and uninspired in content. Among the very few, Lavinia Davis' *Adventures in Steel*, though published some years ago, remains ever valid, and Margaret Raymond's *Bend in the Road* is still notable as a pioneering book that portrays the struggles of working girls who seek independence and new roots.

Democratic Roots and Shoots

The war and the whole decade of international change have renewed our consciousness of our democratic roots and traditions. Several books related to this theme make strong claims on juvenile attention: Katherine Shippen's *The Great Heritage*, a stirring presentation of our country's sources of strength; Clara Lambert's *I Sing America: A Pageant of the Regions*; and Irwin Shapiro's *Joe Magerac and His*

U.S.A. Citizen Papers, which traces the adventures of this legendary steel hero with robust humor and sympathy for the foreign-born.

Some of the most significant books with contemporary themes touch upon the social differences born of economic struggle. Doris Gates' *Blue Willow* has been called the children's *Grapes of Wrath*; Lois Lenski's *Cotton in My Sack* pictures a family of sharecroppers, while her *Judy's Journey*, award book of 1947, is a realistic approach to the problems of a migratory worker's family in their search for a home.

Multi-National United States

The various nationality groups in American life provide rich and interesting sources for contemporary children's books. Joan Savage's *Hurray for Bobo* introduces young children to a Chinese-American boy whose mother's patient support helps him meet and overcome rejection by his neighborhood playmates. For children somewhat older, Clara Judson's *Green Ginger Jar* offers a fuller treatment of this theme. American Indians retain a favorite place in stories. While their dubious treatment as wards of the government is reflected occasionally, the spotlight is cast usually on the continuing conflict between ancient tribal habits and modern ways. Among the best of these offerings are *Chee and His Pony* and *Hosh-Ki the Navajo*, both by Florence Hayes, Armstrong Sperry's *Little Eagle, a Navajo Boy*, Ann Clark's *Little Navajo Bluebird*, Doris Gates' *North Fork*, and Evelyn Lampman's *Treasure Mountain*.

Japanese-Americans are treated in Ralph Martin's *Boy from Nebraska*, Anne Emery's *Tradition*, and Florence Crannell Means' *The Moved-Outers*, which received the 1945 award for its forthright presentation of the plight of a minority group. *The Very Good Neighbors*, by Irmengarde Eberle, furnishes a glimpse of the hand-to-mouth everyday life of a marginal Mexican-American family. Spanish-Americans figure in Florence Crannell Means' *Teresita of the Valley* and *The House Under the Hill*.

The courage and heroic struggle of the Negro people are described in Arna Bontemps' *Story of the Negro* and *We Have Tomorrow* and in Ben Richardson's *Great American Negroes*. The past few years have also brought a good but still inadequate crop of stories about Negro children — for the most part happily free from stereotype and caricature.

Almost every child who handles Marguerite de Angeli's *Bright April* cherishes it for its sensitive story of a Brownie Scout who lives in Germantown with her friendly Negro family. Stories about Negro

children in urban communities include *Melindy's Medal*, by Georgene Faulkner and John Beckner, and Hope Newell's *Steppin and Family* (well told though there is a remnant of the stereotype in the name itself). Several stories have pictured the difficulties Negro children encounter in white communities: Jesse Jackson's *Call Me Charley* and its sequel, *Anchor Man*, and Florence Hayes' *Skid* in which the scene shifts from the South to the North. Mebane Burgwyn's *Lucky Mischief* touches life in a rural community in North Carolina, Mary Elting's *Patch* includes a Negro girl in its unusual farm story, while Mary Ovington's *Zeke* portrays a schoolboy in Alabama. Outstanding still for the problems it projects and the superb manner of telling is Florence Crannell Means' *Shattered Windows* in which a Negro girl reared in Minneapolis chooses to live and work in the problem-filled deep South.

An appreciation of the different groups comprising the United States and their contributions to our national life may help the growing child to stand up against prejudice. Extraordinarily skillful in its handling of the likenesses and differences between people is Eva Knox Evans' *All About Us*. For a somewhat older group, and an excellent stimulant to group discussion, Ruth Adams Knight offers in *It Might Be You* eight challenging stories of young people in various times and places as they faced intolerance. The recipient of the Committee's first award, John Tunis' *Keystone Kids*, remains a thrilling story, hard-hitting in its attack on anti-Semitism.

Several recent stories provide admirable examples of young people inspiring group or community action. Eleanor Clymer's *The Latch Key Club* offers a novel solution to the lack of play facilities for city children, many of whose mothers work. Frieda Friedman's *A Sundae with Judy* presents a lively heroine with a nose for neighborhood problems and ways to solve them. Within the framework of exciting sports stories, John Tunis' outstanding *All-American* and his *City for Lincoln* are dynamic attempts to fight prejudice in sports and in city government. *Assorted Sisters*, by Florence Crannell Means, follows a neighborhood problem and its effects on three girls with widely different backgrounds. Phyllis Whitney's *Willow Hill* takes a step forward to involve young people in the actual solution of a crisis in a community torn with interracial strife.

Beyond Our Borders

Once kindled, a spirit of friendliness and understanding can reach out overseas from the United

States. During and since the war there have been numerous efforts to picture the lives of children and young people in other countries who share their elders' struggle to throw off the Nazi yoke. Some of the more successful of these are Howard Pease's thrilling *Heart of Danger*, award book for 1946, and a trio of books with young war heroes: Joseph Gollomb's *Young Heroes of the War*, Hester O'Neill's *Young Patriots*, and May Lamberton Becker's inspired collection, *Youth Replies I Can*.

European youth caught in World War II are pictured in *Niko's Mountains*, by Maria Gleit, *The Wishing Window*, by Hortense Flexner, and Claire Bishop's *Pancakes Paris* (France); Josef Berger's *Operation Underground* (Germany); Edward Fenton's *Aleko's Island* (Greece); Dola De Jong's *The Level Land* and *Return to the Level Land* (The Netherlands); Alta Seymour's *Tangled Skein* (Norway); and Gregor Felsen's *Struggle Is Our Brother* (Soviet Union).

China and its struggles are made vivid in Marion Ward's *Boat Children of Canton*, Vanya Oakes' *By Sun and Star*, Alice Margaret Huggins' *The Red Chair Waits*, and Elizabeth Forman Lewis' *When the Typhoon Blows*. Postwar situations are caught in Anne Holliday's *Toshio and Tama* (Japan) and Voronkova's *Little Girl from the City*, the latter an unusually perceptive study of a Russian war orphan's adjustment to a new family and environment.

All of these stories are tied together with the hope people invest in the United Nations. Tom Galt's *How the United Nations Works* has a wealth of information describing to young people the complicated machinery of this organization.

The Committee's award has thrown a spotlight on those books which have dealt boldly with problems that affect the lives of children everywhere. Since the war's end, far too few books have appeared which might clarify for growing girls and boys postwar problems of many kinds: housing difficulties, adjustments of displaced children who have been brought to our country, unemployment which has recently again struck many homes, the fearful danger of an atom-bomb war, and the vital changes in the lives of children in many countries.

This is a time for authors and publishers to meet the need and interest of children and young people for attractive stories that project the possibilities for greater happiness and fulfillment in a peaceful world.

CLARA OSTROWSKY
For the Children's Book Committee

CRISES IN CHILDHOOD

(Continued from page 97)

that at one time was readily available when families were larger and older people were more likely to share living quarters with the young parents. The detachment of the present-day family, the need young people feel for a home of their own, and the narrowing base of the family as a community tend to interrupt the traditional direct passing on of accumulated experience and wisdom. The casual and relaxed attitude of taking developmental crises in one's stride, which is important for the comfort and security of the child, is based upon understanding of each phase of its development. For the parent who does not have such understanding, through family absorption, let us say, there seems no solution but dependence on outside sources of information — books, magazines, contemporaries.

What can be done for a child in the face of calamity, such as the death of a father or mother? Such a calamity, after all, spares no member of the family, and the adult is as much affected as the child, although in a different way. One of the common reactions of the adult is to try to spare the child by hiding his own grief so that it will not be felt by the child, to try to help the child to cloak his sorrow, to forget it, to banish it from his mind. Actually, this may spring from the adult's wish to spare himself; overwhelmed by his own distress, he is often unable to take responsibility for the child's as well. Unfortunately, such a procedure is not helpful to the child; it leaves him alone with his grief, and without help in dealing with it. The child really needs to be included in a family's sorrow. Being allowed to share his loss with others, he is better able to bear it and to adjust to it.

There is much more general understanding of sibling rivalry. In the first place, the problem is universal; and secondly, parents usually realize the importance of preparing the child for a new arrival far enough in advance so that it does not come as too much of a shock. Often included in such preparation are physiological and psychological explanations of marital relations, pregnancy, and childbirth; allowing the older child to participate in preparing for the new baby; finding ways of reassuring the older child of the parents' continued interest; and offering substitute and compensatory gratifications for the child's feeling of loss of place and affection. What can be done depends very much on the age of the child,

his maturity, and his ability to talk about his feelings and reactions.

As for the normal stresses and the personal upsets mentioned before, they can best be handled by parents who know their children well enough to understand and anticipate their reactions and their special ways of obtaining consolation. Such knowledge is the realistic expression of a parent's love. It requires thoughtfulness about the children, curiosity about them as people, acceptance of and respect for their individuality, and ingeniousness in helping them to find their own ways of dealing with their disturbed feelings. It also calls for the ability to recognize disturbances in children as real and important, even though they may seem trivial according to adult standards. It means taking children seriously, as a serious business, as a challenging and responsible as well as a rewarding and gratifying undertaking.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY GROUPS

(Continued from page 109)

funerals, appearance at court. What kind of behavior and attitudes on the part of other members of the community outside the family help or complicate a child's adjustment in times of crisis?

Discuss the problem of chaperoning adolescents. How much freedom can they be allowed? How can a community meet the problem of different standards for freedom, for behavior of children?

TO READ

Bro, Marguerite Harmon. *When Children Ask*. Willett, Clark, 1940.

Staff of the Child Study Association of America. *Parents' Questions*. Harper, Rev. Ed., 1947. Chapters 6, 10.

Wolf, Anna W. M. *The Parents' Manual*. Simon & Schuster, 1947. Chapters 4, 10.

CHILD STUDY Magazine:

"The Problem of Human Aggressions." Summer, 1948.

"Growing Toward Responsibility." Fall, 1948.

"What Can Psychiatry Offer My Child?" Spring, 1949.

FILMS

The following 16 mm. films can be used to stimulate discussion of this issue's topic. The Visual Education Division of your State Department of Education can give you information about film rental sources.

A Family Affair. 2 reels. Sound. Selection from a full-length feature film edited by the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association.

The Feeling of Hostility. 3 reels. Sound. Produced by the National Film Board of Canada for the Mental Health Division of the Department of National Health and Welfare.

Meeting Emotional Needs in Childhood. 3 reels. Sound. Produced by the Department of Child Study at Vassar College.

HELPING CHILDREN TO ACCEPT DEATH

(Continued from page 99)

sure whether it was right to miss school without going to the funeral. So her lie rectified the confusing situation and at the same time permitted her to believe that she was not excluded from emotional participation and understanding. She didn't understand what had happened and was hurt. But she kept her fantasies, fears, and hurt within herself and struggled alone.

When Mary's grandmother died, there was a great deal of secrecy about it. Her grandmother had lived with Mary's family, and Mary had loved her dearly. She resented feeling that she was forbidden to know and to participate in the normal emotions around family happenings. So Mary pretended to herself that she really didn't care and laughed and danced in the face of her parents' grief. Maggie, faced with the same situation, met it in an entirely different way. Both children needed to be included in the family's emotional situation, and helped to meet it in a wholesome way.

It is normal, natural, and desirable for a parent to want to keep alive in the child's life the memory of a deceased parent. It is important that this be thoughtfully done. After Sally's mother died, her father mentioned the fact that Sally had certain of her mother's desirable qualities. Sally was pleased and remembered her mother affectionately. Contrast this with another father who often spoke of his child's mother as "looking down from above" on the child's activities. Betsy, misunderstanding, felt that she was being watched in an unsympathetic way.

Often, too, the living parent or other members of the family put the eldest child into the place of the deceased parent. They are apt to say to the oldest son, "You are now the man of the house." Yet he is a child still, without adult capacity to bear responsibility, and this is too great a burden to put on him even though on the surface he may seem to take pride in it.

The emotional reactions that may be expected of children on the death of a beloved person may follow one of several patterns:

First of all is the sorrow that comes from separation. To the little child, death is not much different from someone's going away. But it is unfair to present death to the child specifically in this way. Children often forget that a dead person is not coming back; the adult's job is the difficult one of repeating that there is to be no return, until eventually the child accepts the fact. To an older child the separation and

the sorrow are more real. Parents cannot and should not protect children from all pain in living; they can and should temper the pain to the child's ability to handle it, offering adult security and companionship when and as it may be wanted.

Second, a child may be angry that life has done this to him. A little child sees the separation of death in terms of being left behind. Father, whom he dearly loves, somehow cares so little for him that he has gone away. Johnny must stay without his care and protection. Mother can reassure him that she knows how he feels and that any boy might feel that way. Yet she can patiently help him toward some acceptance of this pain as being a part of life for which no person is to blame. Here it is important to remember children's great desire to be like other children. The loss of a parent makes them different—they can be actually ashamed on this account.

Third, a child may become anxious. Children differ in their ability to shift their affections; not every child can find sound and easy reassurance through companionship with other adults, so that he can get along without the one he has lost. Some children, however, do immediately turn to a friend or a neighbor with the suggestion that he or she replace the dead parent. This is often difficult for the surviving parent to understand and accept. The entity of the family means a great deal to the child, and in the loss of this his own equilibrium is upset. The speed with which a child searches for a substitute, therefore, is not necessarily an index of his affection for the dead parent.

Fourth, there are almost always guilt reactions. The child remembers that at times he has been angry at mother or father and as hindrances to his wishes he has wanted them out of the way. Now it has happened and he is uncertain as to his own part in causing this to occur. Death breaks the child's belief, often unexpressed, in his own magic ability to wish things away and back again. It is the finality of death that he cannot accept. He always believed in his ability to restore with wishing and magic. Adults must accept the child's mixed feelings of love and anger toward members of the family and understand that he may believe that his angry wishes caused the death. Where we see signs of such guilt feelings we must reassure the child that his angry wishes did no harm.

Fifth, grief to a child is different from grief to an adult. A child may be feeling deep grief at the loss of a loved one yet be quickly eager to go out and play. There is nothing shocking about this. The

child wishes to meet his trouble at his own pace in his own way. Sometimes, however, children's behavior at such a time goes to extremes. Richard, left at home during his father's funeral, wanted to explore the contents of his father's desk. This had been forbidden during the father's life. In such a situation the child needs our help. We can assure him that we understand his wish to do this, but we must gently keep him from doing it, explaining that he will later feel uneasy about his own actions. In other words, we must protect the child from behavior that is likely to be followed by feelings of guilt or other discomfort.

Some compliance with family tradition in the observance of mourning is not amiss, but here again the child's participation must be in terms of his emotional age. The emphasis should be on those cultural or racial traditions that offer security and reassurance in the continuity of life. Though this article has been concerned with psychological mechanisms and handling, it is in no way intended to minimize the inestimable help to parents, and therefore to children, of a deep and abiding religious faith.

Along with all that has been said here goes the factor of the parents' own needs and problems in such times of crisis. These must claim consideration, not only from others in the family but from the child himself. In the need to support the adult the child, within the limits of his age and capacity, may gain a measure of reassurance. He is needed. This is important to him.

But whatever you may say or do at whatever occasion, always remember that basically it is the parents' emotional attitude rather than their words or actions, *how* they say and do rather than *what* they say and do, which will give their explanations or their behavior meaning and value to the child.

TROUBLES DON'T COME SINGLY

(Continued from page 102)

into tempers when she had other things she must do.

Peter's mother, too, had a new wave of discouragement. Yet this time, beneath it all, she had more confidence than before and she regained strength and assurance more rapidly. Her assurance came from the conviction that security for Peter lay in helping him face the truth, not in concealment. It lay in her knowledge of what the sources were of his hostility toward her and in her acceptance of the likelihood of their periodic recurrence. She took consolation from

knowing that as time passed, these waves of hostility were likely to come in diminishing intensity.

When the day came for them to go on their trip, Peter appeared full of gaiety and helpfulness. He talked a great deal about the tall mountains in the place they were going to; the pain of farewells to his father was softened by promises of good times they would have together when Peter came home.

So Peter learned to take two hard blows — and to rally from them — without irreparable damage. He rallied from the crisis of a broken home which is intrinsically a hard one. Great understanding and maturity on the part of parents are needed to pilot a child safely through it. The fact of adoption — ordinarily not a major calamity for a child — takes on ominous meanings for one who is already threatened. But even the two together can be met when parents give steadfast help. The counselor helped Peter's mother through her own bitter shock and sorrow until she was again strong enough to take up the child's burden along with her own. The counselor helped her see and understand — but only when she was ready to see; helped her act but only when she was ready to act — not before. Life will not be easy for either Peter or his mother — but they have both discovered it can be lived and that it may have both interest and rewards.

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WHAT IS ADOLESCENT LOVE?

(Continued from page 104)

inner promptings. The resulting pushing and pulling appears as unstable behavior. Another theory would put more emphasis on the cognitive and value changes which occur in the transition from the child's world to the adult world. The individual and his social field are in a process of almost total change, with resulting instabilities in behavior.

In coming to terms with the crisis of heterosexual relationships, the self manifests many new facets, but perhaps no quality appears quite so regularly as the striving on the part of the youngster for independence and the realization of his own uniqueness. With the separation from parental controls come new emotions, new instabilities, and yet new opportunities for creative self-expression. After having achieved a measure of autonomy there arises in the course of time the need again to communicate and to share intimately with another person. Fear or insecurity sometimes results in inability of the youngster to reach out beyond the boundaries of his newly won autonomy. This should be counted as a danger signal. Continued withdrawal, isolation, or refusal to become involved with the opposite sex is not a healthy reaction. For a genuine experience of wholeness, the adolescent must discover ways and means of sharing a part of himself with others. It is not easy to give up a part of oneself to others and it almost always involves a degree of struggle. Much of the ambivalent behavior, the frequent changing of boy friends or girl friends, the surging of emotions that turn from hot to cold and back to hot again have roots in the struggle of the youngster to release a part of himself to another's control.

Young people in love, as we have said, have no standard against which to test and gain control of the new problems which their mutual relationships present to them. They carry over to these problems attitudes which are suitable to the problems of an earlier age. These attitudes can be a hindrance or an advantage, depending upon what direction they give the child in terms of conduct, beliefs, values, and understanding of other people. Notwithstanding this, we know that this period also calls upon youngsters to make new hypotheses, to be modified, discarded, or permanently adopted after testing in actual relationships. When hypotheses continually prove to be wrong and are a source of frustration, the youngster will continue to make hypotheses but with less active effort to test them and therefore less direct effort toward the mas-

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tery of inner impulses and problems arising outside himself. The hypothesis-making continues covertly often beneath the deceptive cloak of overcompliant behavior, intellectualizing, or other forms of superficial adaptation.

Parents can play an extremely important role by providing opportunity for young people to participate together in social situations where responsibilities are real but where a wrong hypothesis and actions based on it will not be disastrous. In this connection, parents frequently ask, "How can I be sure my youngster will know what to do and what not to do, particularly in regard to sex?"

Our current concern with sex education provides no ready answer to this question. Factual education regarding reproduction, sex attitudes, and sex conduct is highly important; but in itself it is insufficient to provide boys and girls with a basis for optimum sex adjustment. More important in the total picture are two additional insights which, together with factual information, may give parents a basis for helping young people weather the crisis of heterosexual relations.

The first is the concept that the youngster's behavior is organized through his membership in vari-

ous groups. He behaves according to how he sees himself and others in the group setting. He behaves according to his position in the group. For example, a youngster may be lacking in initiative and social aggressiveness as a member of his school group. When heading the dance committee the same youngster may be socially aggressive — his behavior will then be quite the opposite from when he was just a group member. Dramatic instances of changes of this kind are sometimes referred to as "blossoming out." Such changes stem from the youngster's perception of his changed position or role in the group. Several groups play an important role in determining the individual's behavior. For the adolescent there is usually the immediate family, the school or major activity group, the community as a whole, and finally the society in which he lives. Each of these groups has a definable share in shaping his development, particularly the development of his ideas, codes of conduct, beliefs, and values. Most important, these groups define reality for the individual. There is often conflict between the groups, as, for example, when the family's ideas conflict with those of the school group. The family may want its daughter home at ten o'clock when the school dance does not end until twelve. These conflicts have their effects on boys and girls and often are responsible for serious division in their feelings and loyalties. Parents can play a helpful role by gearing the family point of view to the view of the other groups in the community. For the individual his groups are a stabilizing force, serving to counteract the effects of momentary impulses arising from within as well as those influences from the environment which threaten his security. It is the family group that has the earliest and most influential role in the formation of the individual's character. A good family experience will help the child toward the outlook and maturity necessary to manage the heterosexual experiences of adolescence.

A second concept regarding heterosexual activities at this age is the recognition that the source of control must reside in the adolescent himself. To the extent that the boy or girl has a clear experience of himself as a person he is likely to act creatively with his problems whether they be with the opposite sex or with life in general. It has been demonstrated again and again that suppressive measures of an authoritarian kind are not controls at all. In essence it is the youth himself on whom we must depend; our task as adults is to help him achieve a creative and clear conception of himself which he can bring to bear on the problems which will confront him.

GROUP LIVING

(Continued from page 106)

would wish for, he replied, (1) that all the banana trees (which he had been told died during the last severe winter) be restored, (2) that cooperative life spread throughout the country, and (3) that it be extended all over the world.

The signs of aggressive behavior, seen frequently during the first few years of life, change as group life becomes more pronounced. I would venture to guess that the self-regulatory influence of such a group cannot long permit aggressive manifestations. Counteraction and discharge are worked upon immediately by the group. The propulsion of aggression seems to be diluted by group countermeasures and, simultaneously, group interdependence. More commonly found than overtly aggressive behavior are fears and excessive attachments to other children.

Although a strong group spirit develops, children become particularly sensitive to their group position. While some children are very much supported and carried by the group, others who are not accepted by it suffer particularly under the impact of isolation. Many teachers have a tendency to depend too heavily on the group for the solution of individual problems and to accept the group decision too easily without modification. Those children who are "outsiders" are most often suggested for therapy. We need to study further the limits of group tolerance in relation to problems manifested by the individual child.

If we pause here for contemplation, we may say that partially contradictory observations have been expressed. I have talked of the importance of individual relationships, and I have mentioned the effectiveness of the group in modifying aggression. I have discussed the advantages of group living, but I have also pointed out that group living may be given an importance beyond the needs of the individual child. In contrast, I have spoken of the necessity for the mother's attention to the young child's needs; but problems can also develop out of a close relationship between mother and child.

These apparent contradictions will exist as long as we consider posing family life, as we know it, against group living. What we should consider is the *quality* of the attention in the individual relationship and the *quality* of the interaction in groups. The amount of time devoted to the individual child or the amount of time spent in the group is comparatively unimportant when it is weighed against the quality of the relationship.

Group living, as such, can begin only after the first three years of life. It can then be trusted to play a role in the child's development. The integration of individual and group relationships have to be judged from the total living conditions. In cities, group function in schools, camps, or clubs cannot be compared with the groups set up under a total plan by the cooperatives. There they are meant to be stable for life. They are based on a unity of interests, and within this framework many shifts are possible.

Rooted in our own experiences, we seem to react immediately with criticism when we hear about group and cooperative living, and we thus express limitations in our capacity for judging adequate group life. But those who seemingly neglect individual relationships within the family as a guide to satisfactory group relationships fail in kind.

The observations cited here are sketchy. Many questions need to be studied about the development of Kibbutzim children. I believe these cooperatives would be an excellent testing ground for comparative data. At a time when the world is struggling toward harmonious relationships between group interests and a fuller understanding of individual development, such studies are of extreme importance.

One is impressed by the fact that the family relationship maintains its importance under circumstances very different from those we know. Even when the separations described occur, the family and the parental influence are still paramount for the young child. A group experience can be added to the child's life with more confidence without raising the question of *group* versus *parent*.

SCIENCE CONTRIBUTES

(Continued from page 111)

within a minute, walked away and stayed together, making chirping sounds ("the lost call"). After five minutes, they went to the feeding trough where they fed along with the others, and mingled freely with them. Twelve minutes after entry they again separated from the others. One of them made a dash for the door through which it had been taken. For some time after that, they alternated going into and away from the group, though they stayed together and kept close to the door. Thirty minutes after entry the hen, who up to this time had seemed to pay no attention to what was going on, clucked loudly and ran to the far end of the house. All her chicks ran to her, peeping. The orphans remained where they were and made no peeping sounds. Taken back to their own

house, their behavior appeared to be just as it was before they were removed to the hen side.

Similar experiments were repeated. Chicks, singly or in pairs, were placed on the other side. As the experiments went on, there were increasing efforts on the part of strangers to get back to their own side, whether orphan or mothered chicks. Nevertheless, there was at the same time evidence of mixing freely with the others.

The first attack on a stranger occurred when the chicks were six weeks old. By eight weeks, attacks were consistent and quite like the grown-up variety.

What have these experiments revealed? It seems to me they revealed strong cohesive tendencies in each group. Orphan chicks, as strongly as mothered chicks, made efforts to return to their own group. At the same time, the strange chicks alternated distancing behavior with free mingling, eating close to the others at the same troughs, walking into compact groups, etc. In several experiments, there was evidence that blending of the strange chick with the group would have occurred in a very short period of time compared with the grownups. All the data accumulated in these studies on the behavior of chicks indicate a social tendency well developed before the emergence of a dominance order.

Little children are friendly. They show no antagonistic reaction to other children because of differences in color, appearance, manner, even physical deformity. Such prejudices, when they arise as children grow older, are usually explained as the result of attitudes learned through grownups. The chicks too are friendly with chicks strange and familiar.

But at six weeks, orphan and mothered chicks begin to manifest unfriendly behavior. At eight weeks, they carry on like the grownups, attacking repeatedly. This change has not come about through cultural influence. Chicks have no culture. Orphan chicks have no hen to teach them, by imitation, or contagion, or identification. The response to the stranger is not born in chicks as a completed pattern, with persistent stalking, cocklike fighting, etc. Nevertheless, when the first furtive pecks at the stranger begin, the response seems to occur suddenly, like a new and violent force in a peaceful environment.

Are we dealing with the same instinctive forces in human beings? Is there in human beings, as in chicks, an innate response to the stranger, an innate propensity that develops rapidly into cohesive group behavior, another innate propensity starting later that develops rapidly into a reaction against that type of unfamiliar yet similar object, the stranger, that seems

to imperil every member of the group? But why doesn't the group keep the stranger out forever? We may assume that if the animal organization is so cohesive that its outer wall cannot be penetrated, it may perish sooner than animal organizations that can expand through accretion of new members. Hence, an opening for the stranger is a mode of adaptation useful to survival.

The study of group tensions is particularly important today. There is more awareness of the problem and more receptivity to any knowledge that can be brought to bear upon it. I think we should not nourish any illusions about the ease of modifying the hostile attitudes of groups toward anyone who does not fully reflect a familiar image. The group, once expansive and accepting, has an amazing tendency to return to its primitive cohesive, exclusive, and stereotyped form.

In his *Group Psychology and Analysis of the Ego*, Freud expressed the pattern of response to the stranger as follows: "In the undisguised antipathies and aversions which people feel toward strangers with whom they have to do, we recognize the expression of self-love, of narcissism. This self-love works for the self-assertion of the individual, and behaves as though the occurrence of any divergence from his own particular lines of development involved a criticism of them and a demand for their alteration. We do not know why such sensitiveness should have been directed to just these details of differentiation; but it is unmistakable that in this whole connection men give evidence of a readiness for hatred, an aggressiveness the source of which is unknown and to which one is tempted to ascribe an elementary character."

It is that "elementary character" which I have tried to reveal in these experiments with hens and chicks.

Books for Children on Religious Themes

A new pamphlet, *Bible Stories and Books About Religion for Children* has just been issued by the Children's Book Committee of the Association. Expanding and amplifying a survey which appeared in the Spring issue of CHILD STUDY, this new listing will meet a variety of interests and needs. Its selections have been made on a non-sectarian basis, including material based on both Old and New Testaments. The sixty-eight titles have been annotated and arranged under such headings as "Religion in Everyday Life," "Stories Retold from the Bible," "Bible Times and People," "Prayers and Verse," "Arranged Quotations from the Bible," "Growth of Religion." The list may be obtained from the Child Study Association, 132 East 74th Street, New York. The price is 20 cents (special rates for quantity orders).



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